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## The Ethnic D

### in Human P

Jerry D.

State University College,

Rand McNally College Publis



# PREFACE

There are those who feel that, to paraphrase the b  
writing of many textbooks is an abomination and a vexa  
onetheless, going to hazard vexing the spirit of collea  
y presenting this book as an instrument for teaching a  
e ethnic dimension in human relations.

The relevance of such an effort to academic or practic  
needs to be stated. Manifestations of the new ethnici  
ense of the relevance of ethnic group membership to th  
or personal identity—are superimposed on the all-to  
ersisting tendency for ethnicity to serve as an excuse fo  
f people of “minority” social status. The search for  
olidarity with one’s “own people,” the struggle for fa  
peoples—these are themes in the human condition that  
nd in all times. They are accordingly dominant them  
ociology, with its presumptuous effort to define genera  
ons of social existence.

Such vast themes have served to sensitize large numb  
udies of different ethnic peoples and of different syste  
ans. As with the other areas of human social experience

understand more fully the ethnic dimension must let itself be guided by the wisdom of the past. There is a lesson in this rich area of sociological research. There is a lesson for travel *without* a travel guide, letting one's unaided eyes establish generalizations about the country of the traveler. Yet there are points—and the wise instructor probably knows these points—at which the student needs the guidance from a somewhat more experienced traveler. We see an example of . . .”

To write a travel guide for any field of sociological study, the field of present concern, ethnicity, the task has a long history, judging by the dearth of efforts. This is not true of the several textbooks currently available on race and ethnicity. They have not attempted to do what a travel guide does. In some cases, they provide very useful compendia of the ethnic factor in some particular area of the world, but from a more generalizing perspective, are addressed to the needs of professional colleagues or of very advanced students of sociology. For the rest, either these textbooks find the students where they are, already enmeshed in a society and an ethnic group—and these texts commendably satisfy the curiosity to understand more of that social surrounding—or they lead the heads of neophyte students, leaving them to undertake their own travels. The spirit in which I have written this book is to the student: Take my hand and *together* we shall explore one of the dimensions of human existence. I write this book because we are all really beginning students of sociology. The most learned of us understands maybe 1 or 2 percent of what we understand about something, it is arrogance indeed to pretend to know virtually nothing: Follow *me* and *I'll* show you something. Perhaps more of my colleagues have not attempted to do this because they, like myself, are impressed with the enormity of the task. They do not know about the territory to be covered. Still, all of us, teachers, are faced with that feeling of What in the hell can I do? Sometimes a week when twenty or thirty intelligent students look at us with the expectation that we *do something* about this problem. It frees us, I think to do something helpful if we do it for the students *and* to ourselves some of that fellow traveler's freedom. Among the cardinal sins of teaching and writing is to commit the sin of being on occasion wrong in our perceptions.

and define them—are those of obfuscation and intellectual dishonesty that stem from an egoistic need to feel that because we have earned our names and an academic title in front of us, we are entitled to claim that we “know it all.” Since we do not, in fact, know it all (and our claim to be more certain about a matter than we are is a form of intellectual dishonesty), or we phrase our perceptions in such convoluted terms (obfuscation) that a critic cannot dispute them, we may as well claim that the critic did not “understand” our point. This is indeed a kind of game that professors (myself included) have played for years. I would like to urge that a whistle be blown and that we stop playing this game for a while. In setting rules for this new game, I am aware of the intellectual (as opposed to the social) distance between myself and lay students of sociology is really very slight. This book (or some far better book of the same type) is intended to be a guide for venturing together into an essentially uncharted intellectual experience. Let us not be afraid to make mistakes; let us discuss our learning; only let us remain *open* to criticism. Let us state our views clearly enough that our critics can disagree with us and give us the benefit of insights we have missed. Together, let us move ourselves collectively toward a little closer understanding of the human condition. Even failing this, we shall have enjoyed the companionship of coequal strivers in a worthwhile pursuit for the rest of our lives—whether a few days or many years. To state as students of the vast mystery of human life. My acknowledgments for this book are very easy for me to make, but difficult to put into words. It was written over a period of several years that were essentially lonely in terms of my intellectual contacts with others for purposes of criticism and correction. I want to state that the book is presented as an instrument of intellectual honesty. Yet, like another lonely sociologist, Charles H. Cooley, I have been studied closely and have tried in some respects to be more aware of the absolute dependence of my work on the work of other persons. The influence of the writings of such giants as Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton, Talcott Parsons, Max Weber, and others is fully obvious in the book itself. What has to be confessed is that a complete synthesis of this kind would not have been possible without the enormous number of laborers in the vineyard producing the raw material.

he does not edit out this paragraph—which I hereby acknowledge that Martha Urban is the ideal editor. Herself a wise person who can spot a faulty generalization, she has insisted that with every phrase and sentence I say exactly what I *mean*. If the book is the instrument of knowledge on the subject than it aims to be, it will be the product of her loving ruthlessness on this score.

Beyond this, I owe the author's usual full measure of gratitude to the persons without whose forbearance a book could never be written. That at Rand McNally, Larry Malley, grew extra gray hairs as the organization of this book was shaped and reshaped over the course of some years. During the crucial last stages of completion, he generously allowed me to disrupt the routine of his considerable period of time, and through it all remained my dear friend. Closer to home, my department chairman and president of my college, Dallas Beal, acted in their usual magnanimity to lighten the burden of competing academic obligations that were owed and joyfully tendered to those who were most important: since they are the most loved: my wife and children. I owe a special obligation because "Daddy is writing his book" is a phrase of enormous ones, and the daddy in question can count on the fact that his influence will contribute in some way to a better world. I have suffered from these lapses.

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# TRODUCTION

## PLE AND PEOPLES

ology seems to be gaining a reputation—a somewhat strange taste—for viewing people in terms of kinds, attempting thereby to account for differences in their votes differently than Tom Smith or prefers another. If John has a different sort of sex life, it is because John is a Jew or a Catholic while Tom is a teacher or a novelist. Among many other reputations, this one has a basis in fact, undoubtedly some embellishment on the fact by popular acquaintance with the field of sociology. Let us turn to pages of any of the leading professional journals in sociology, be confronted with table after table of “data” showing how which different kinds of people act or feel in a given situation. The “tend to” be more conservative on civil rights is the Negro people, women “tend to” seek out psychiatric aid more than men, etc.

A frequent objection to this generalizing is that it ignores the fact that every human being is unique—not reducible to the indignities of

member of a category. Although to a outward appearance she is simply the typist in row 4 seat 16 in an office, in fact, she is really the one and only Sally, as will be known by her friends, and the man who will marry and detain her, perhaps attach her to a house at 416 Elm that, to all appearances, is just like the house at 414 Elm).

Some of which is true. And all of which is irrelevant to the sociological insight that, while everyone is unique, there are other respects in which everyone is like everyone else. "Kind" and unlike all others of other "kinds." It is the central problem of the sociologist, or of anyone else who wishes to deal gently with other people, to sort out what is idiosyncratic and what is generally human from what is common or shared among members of a universal category of people. It is in this middle range of generality that the sociologist operates. Just *what* is it, the quality that distinguishes Sally from other people (and, just as important, the response of other people toward *her*) that is attributable to the fact that she is a woman, the daughter of a professor, or the wife of an anthropologist? The study of categories of people is based on the social assumption that the differences people make among different kinds of people are a difference in the way they act and in the way they are responded to toward them. In this book we look at one kind of difference, that of ethnic-group membership. To be a black or white person in the United States, a coloured person in Britain, or a Catholic in Ireland is to be something that has predictable consequences for one's relations with those of one's own kind as well as with those of other kinds. Exactly what these consequences are understood in terms of social existence is the simply stated but immense problem of this or any book dealing with the role of ethnicity.

**ETHNIC GROUPS AND ETHNIC RELATIONS**

The sociological writings on ethnicity—an immense body of work—come in one of two different forms. Either we find studies that focus on specific ethnic groups in specific societal or community contexts—the "coloured" of South Africa, the Maori in New Zealand, the Chicanos of Los Angeles; or we find studies that deal with the relationship between two or more ethnic groups in a given society or community—the relationship between the English-speaking and the French-speaking of Canada, or between black and Jewish groups in

These are obviously related matters—no single ethnic group can be understood in isolation from its relationships with other groups. A study of ethnic relations can ignore the nature of the relations that exist—it still provides a useful tool in focusing on our subject to maintain this distinction between the two. Part 1 of this book focuses on ethnic *groups* and the social relevant sociological dimensions in the study of a group. Part 2 examines in some detail the various relations between ethnic groups that may be observed at different levels. The introductions to Part 1 and Part 2 will examine the various dimensions of ethnicity involved in each such focus.

## THE BIASES IN THE ANALYSIS

Any book on ethnicity will display some of the author's biases. The work will have a personal stamp even if the writer tries to respect for the conventions of the literary genre involved. Some of these dispositions or biases are spelled out by the author in the introduction for the analysis that follows or—if this be the case—save him the trouble of reading something that is not relevant.

The whole tone of the book is intended to be an objective and descriptive in nature. The author has no remedies for the contemporary society with reference to the problem of inter-ethnic relations. At least none to be huckstered from the podium of the sciences of sociology—and some of its professional practitioners are inclined to downgrade the value of sociological analysis in the search for solutions to troubling social problems. Certain aspects of ethnic groups and ethnic relations is subject to the "contemporary" to the contemporary conflicts between ethnic groups. It happens to believe that sociology in general and ethnicity in particular *are* relevant to such concerns. A person who is the director of an organization devoted to bettering the lot of the poor and certainly be well served to have a background in sociology, ethnic relations, or, indeed, of sociology in general. It is true that this relevance exists precisely *because* problems of ethnic relations have maintained an attitude of value neutrality to the problems of sociological investigation. The person of affairs in the field of politics, business, etc. may find sociological analysis useful because they were developed by people with no ideological bias.

whether this is a valid reason or a self-serving excuse. The analysis that follows, it remains a fact that the reader can only hope that the author intends to provide the framework for understanding social groups and ethnic relations and that he has some remedy in mind for the ills of the world.

The kind of analysis that follows is *nomothetic* in nature. What these terms imply is that the analysis is to develop certain generalizations or propositions that tend to stimulate certain states or changes in the social world. The specific instances that demonstrate are simply illustrations of such general principles. The book is rich in ethnographic or historical detail, but it might be said that it is a bit too much so. In any case, along with a great many other instances that illustrate a general tendency in human society, there are surely some pitfalls that need to be avoided. Nomothetic or so-called theoretical sociology has a certain armchair character, its development in splendid isolation from the empirical world of reality. When the theorist is merely talking about this world, it is merely to illustrate principles. Certainly some of the founders of sociology were guilty of this. Auguste Comte practiced "cerebral hygiene," and never to read anything that disagreed with his theory. He was jokingly accused of authoring a book (which he never wrote) called *A Beautiful Theory Murdered by a Brutal Fact*. This is a caricature of tendencies toward selective perception. In fact, perceived notions, it still describes in exaggerated form the fallacy of sociological analysis to look for a "beautiful" instance of a general relation and then to search for various instances that "confirm" the validity of the idea. The fallacy in this, of course, is that statistics can be made to "lie" to prove a point, so that dredging up empirical examples to validate a principle is a fallacy. Given the great variety of human behavior and more so, the variety of human perspectives that contribute to our understanding of that behavior, it may be possible to find outlandish of propositions with instances that, with a little imagination, can be seen as exemplifying the proposition. This kind of observations have led some students to conclude that the ethnographic approach is necessary—one that emphasizes

human condition that necessitates a full historical  
ion. From this perspective, the "story" of human be  
narrative or chronological, without any necessary  
some exaggeration no doubt, history has been descri  
ed thing after another." In contrast, sociologists ten  
tempting to generalize about which damned thing  
other things. The enormity of this risk will be demo  
s in this book, where the author is skating on the  
e empirical evidence to back up suggested proposi  
ally given fair warning at these points by expression  
."

An extension, really, of the last point is another fea  
nphasis on cross-cultural material from outside the U  
d States. Sociological treatises on ethnic groups o  
tended to be quite U.S.A.-centered in their approach  
r cross-cultural perspective adopted here is designe  
ocial world is not bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific  
co and Canada. For many interesting reasons not  
the field of sociology—including the sociology of  
dominated by American practitioners. Perhaps bec  
most other people, are more comfortable in famili  
have tended to study and record social situation  
ago and New Haven are two cities that have bee  
logically; not, perhaps, because of the intrinsic soc  
ese places, but because major departments of sociol  
e University of Chicago and at Yale University. What  
ological writing and instruction in the United States  
entrate on deviance, the family, politics, etc. as th  
ican society.

r is this tendency absent from the present book.  
ne American and certainly "knows" American pr  
ons far better than those in any other society. Also  
primary aim in citing empirical cases of ethnic gr  
ons is pedagogic, to help the student grasp the nat  
iple being enunciated. For this purpose "familiar"  
d to on the assumption that students, too, will be r  
American social scene. Nevertheless, a generous  
ican cases will be found here. This practice not onl  
o e soc o gy should be a soc o gy of *human* not



behavior also reflects a value bias of the author. It may be stated that Americans may be included a great deal more in our own experiences, with little appreciation for the society that could follow from a wider knowledge of the world and our boundaries.

One final point can be made in this definition of the scope of the following analysis. A number of commentators have complained that, while there is an overdevelopment of the analysis in the field of ethnic groups, there has so far been little attention to the sociological analysis of such nonethnic minorities as homosexuals, ex-convicts, etc. Since the author is a sociologist, it might be wondered why still another treatise on the subject is being put forth when the crying need today is for sociological studies of these other minorities. The author is likewise convinced that the reorientation of sociological study toward such nonethnic minorities was with this need fairly constantly in mind that the book was written. It is hoped that the set of analytic tools developed for the study of ethnic groups and ethnic relations are tools that can be applied to the study of nonethnic minorities. When we reach a point in the future wherein all of human grouping and intergroup relations are understood in terms of a single set of explanatory principles, it can be hoped, as a minor footnote in a history of sociology, that from detailed knowledge of quite specific human behavior we can develop those "general ideas," the development of which is the task of those who distinguish human beings from any of the "lower

# ART 1

# ETHNIC GROUPS

# OVERVIEW

## GROUPS

Sociology is sometimes characterized as the “study of society,” and, while this definition is debatable, it points to a field of sociological problems. This “set”—or at least a major part—is presented in the three chapters in this section.

Common to all these aspects of ethnic groups is the question of ethnic group *survival*—one version of the age-old question: Is it possible? in the face of all the forces that tend to break them apart? associating with one another. Ethnic groups are certainly aware of the fact that their survival is problematic. People complain that sports clubs do not have the strength they once had, that the relationship between Jews and Gentiles threatens the very survival of the Jewish people, etc.

Chapter 1 takes up the matter of *identity* of the person as a member of an ethnic group. Without some we-feeling, some sense of common interest with other members of one's group, it would be hard to see how any human group would survive. If each person were only a bundle of self-interests without any sense of shared

As Durkheim put it, if group membership were based on the selfish interest of persons—what each person can get out of it—in the mode of thought that Durkheim attributed to the ancients, an association would be short-lived indeed, because what unites people at one time may divide them at another. If a society requires more solidarity or cohesion than this, any sociological analysis has been concerned with those conditions that encourage or retard the identification or dis-identification of people with other people.

Chapter 2 deals with ethnic group survival from a sociological perspective. One of the forces that certainly holds a society together is a shared culture or way of life that is usually seen as distinctive, as distinguishing “we” who practice this valued way of life from those who practice alien and “inferior” ways. The central problem of Chapter 2 is the phenomenon of acculturation, the adoption of the culture of one ethnic group by members of another ethnic group. This is clearly a threat to ethnic group survival, and this chapter discusses some of those conditions that encourage or retard acculturation, a topic of concern in this chapter.

Chapter 3 examines the degree of community that exists within different ethnic groups. Two rather different meanings of community are defined here, both being vital conditions for the survival of ethnic groups. The first meaning refers to at least a minimum degree of mutual liking and respect that must exist between members of different ethnic groups. Group survival is certainly threatened by internal ethnic conflict and by ethnic discrimination. The second concept of community involves the relative self-sufficiency of a group in providing all the needs of its members. Thus ethnic group survival is measured by the extent to which group members look to their ethnic group for the satisfaction of their needs. On the one hand, group members look to their ethnic group for the satisfaction of their physical, welfare, medical, religious, and other kinds of needs. On the other hand, the extent to which ethnic group members must look outside the ethnic group to supply these needs is a measure of the group's self-sufficiency.

## ETHNIC GROUPS

Most readers of this book—and their reasonably well-informed friends—will have an intuitive understanding of the concept of an ethnic group.

news commentators, for example, discuss the  
outcome of an election, it is understood  
the voting behavior of such groups (in the United  
States, American Indians, or descendants of East Euro  
peans). One tries to put this understanding in words for  
sociologists must do in order to keep the referent for  
which they may find the words hard to come by.

Ethnic groups are the categories in terms of which  
the difference of different "peoples." Shibutani and Kwan  
give a definition: "An ethnic group consists of those  
people who see themselves as alike by virtue of their common ancestry,  
and who are so regarded by others."<sup>2</sup>

This definition emphasizes the role of ancestry in  
the way people are seen as inheriting their ethnic labels by virtue  
of the fact that they themselves were born to parents who had a  
certain ethnicity in the same way. The definition also, in terms of  
ancestry, states an important fact about ethnic groups: that the  
system of perception prevailing among a people, and  
the errors of fact about the history of a group of people  
in the United States who identify themselves ethnically as  
identified by others, are in fact the contemporary products  
of much racial intermixture among their ancestors. But what  
"really" were in ethnic terms is not sociologically relevant.  
What is that people are *assigned* an ethnic heritage by  
a given society, and this assignment may well have  
nothing to do about it.

The limitation of the Shibutani and Kwan definition  
should be noted. The definition implies that a consciousness  
of a group with likenesses derived from common ancestry  
is what defines ethnic groups. A little thought on the matter will show  
that people who engage in a particular occupation—whether  
as a profession or as a trade—regard themselves and are regarded by others  
as a group because they ply a trade according to a set of traditions  
passed down by their predecessors in that trade. Yet we  
do not regard carpenters or prostitutes or priests as peoples or ethnic groups.

ence, perhaps, is the *ascribed* quality of membership. One does not choose one's ethnic ancestors, though one typically does (in most societies) choose its set of attached "ancestors." Ethnicity, unlike taste or religious affiliations, is acquired as a kind of birthmark that one cannot attempt to conceal but can never quite renounce. "Once you are \_\_\_\_\_, you are \_\_\_\_\_."

If we want more detail, then, on those likenesses of people that serve as the basis for ethnic classification, we must determine what qualities are assigned to a person on the basis of the status of his or her parents. One of the more obvious of these is *social class* or the prestige or respectability of the person. Although the status of the parents is ascribed to the child in virtually all societies, there is an opportunity for class status to be altered in many societies on the basis of his or her adult accomplishments. Only where social status is severely restricted and *castes* are created is it appropriate to treat social classes as peoples or ethnic groups. Most social scientists do not treat ethnicity as an ethnic group. Most social scientists treat social class not as an ethnic group. The coexistence of differentiation of people coexisting with ethnicity is a complex phenomenon with profound effects on the consequences of ethnic classification.

What similarities, then, are more appropriate criteria for the classification of membership of ethnic groups? A number of sociologists, including Gordon, have argued that ethnic groups should be seen as involving a common *ancestry, national origin, religion, or some combination of these*.<sup>3</sup> This suggestion is generally adopted for the present study. Understanding that there is some questionability about the validity of this suggestion. For example, individuals certainly do acquire their ethnicity (their race) from their biological parents. But the phenomenon of racial "passing" is an indication that race is not always "regarded by others," may vary from the strict biological definition of a person's parents. One's national origin, the country of birth, is likewise an ascribed and inescapable classification. Despite the changing and other concealments, the individual's ethnicity is a defining his or her ethnic background.

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<sup>3</sup> Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 1.

Religion would seem at first glance the most tenuous criterion of ethnic status. Certainly children are baptized and incorporated into the religion of their parents long before they are capable of consent," and certainly this ascribed religious status defines the identity of most persons throughout their lives as they honor the faith of their ancestors. However, religious conversion does occur, and while it might be compared to racial passing or the concealment of one's ethnic origin, there is an obvious difference in that conversion is often sanctioned, often in an elaborate ceremonial, while passing and concealment are lonely acts of ethnic denial. For all this difficulty in using religion as a criterion of ethnic membership, the fact remains that in many situations, religious affiliation is essentially an act of affirmation. Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland and Jews in Israel tend to feel and act *as if* their religious affiliation bound them together with a common ancestry. On these pragmatic grounds there is a good reason to include religion as an additional basis for ethnic membership.

# CHAPTER 1

## ETHNIC IDENTITY

### WHO AM I? OR WHO ARE THEY?

One of the more disarmingly simple approaches to self-identify themselves is to ask them to write several sentences in response to the question, "Who am I?" Given complete freedom to do so, in writing such answers, most people will begin with references to various social categories or *stereotypes* of people of which they are members: I am a male, a Catholic, a construction worker. Note that these are categories that *distinguish* that person from persons of other social categories, religions, etc. Only occasionally do respondents think to offer the information that "I am a human being" or "part of the universe" or some other label that identifies them with all of humanity. Some of these identification categories are *ethnic groups*, as when people identify themselves by race, religion, or national origin.

Like ethnic identification, as with all other self-identification, there is the possibility that individuals may not identify themselves with any of the categories offered.

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Research using this research instrument was reported in Manford and Hartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology* 60 (1954):68-76. For a more recent summary of such research, see Manford, "Classification and Ordering of Responses to the Question 'Who Am I?'" *Journal of Social Research* 33 (1972):329-347.



ident f ed by others. A man may see h mse f as yo  
ctor, others, observing that n fact he s forty eght  
ds church and is still a medical intern, may question  
as inaccurate or inflated. Ethnic identification is  
reement between the namer and the named.<sup>2</sup>  
ometimes this discrepancy results from individual ego  
ncy to see oneself in the better light. In Brazil, wh  
is a derogated physical appearance, few peopl  
s *preto*, which leads to the observation that it is alw  
or down the road who is *preto*. This egocentrism  
times takes a collective form, in which a whole grou  
membership in an ethnic category to which out  
them. Berry has described the problems of some  
s of "triracial isolates" in the United States, peopl  
minant mixture of European, African, and Ameri  
ds.<sup>3</sup> Such people are frequently classified as black  
southern neighbors, much to their distress, since the  
sically Indian in origin. Such people are marginal in  
clearly located in neither one social category n  
e studied by Berry, for example, were caught in t  
tomous segregation of schools in the South. Being s  
hites, of having Negro "blood," they were not a  
schools. Adamantly rejecting the Negro label for  
ed to send their children to black schools.<sup>4</sup>  
ny other examples could be cited of such painful m  
nic identification. We might, for example, conside  
e of South Africa, people of mixed native and Europ  
onally speak Afrikaans (the language of South A  
nt) and who have enjoyed some political rights th  
"natives." In recent years, with an increasingly st  
n in South Africa, the coloureds have in many c  
s "reclassified" as natives.<sup>5</sup> In much the same way

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a analysis that treats social identity largely as a matter of "naming  
self and others, see Anselm Strauss, *Mirrors and Masks* (New York  
on Berry, *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan, 1963)

*Almost White*, pp.112-133

L van den Berghe *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* Middleto  
sity Press 1965 pp. 39-42

of Rhodes, a greatly resent being classified by what  
ifies them with the native people of the country.<sup>6</sup>  
The other observation about the nature of ethnic identity  
caveat to the kind of analysis that follows. In much of  
ing about variations in ethnic or other group identities  
ated as a variable *between* individuals whose personal  
c identity is presumed to be persistent and unvarying.  
is more accurate psychologically to treat ethnic identity as a  
endency of the individual, a tendency that may be activated  
rding to the situation.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the Who am I  
question might realistically be countered with, Who am I  
y, or tomorrow? What a person is or is thought to be  
with the occasion.<sup>8</sup> On a heterosexual date, the fact that  
s a woman may be a fundamental element in her awareness  
ness in the structuring of the social relationship. The fact  
ens to be a doctor is kept latent by the situation, treated  
ed as situationally irrelevant.<sup>9</sup> In an operating room  
on, however, the salience of her sex and occupation

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Dotson and Lillian Dotson, "Indians and Coloureds in Rhodesia," *South African Yearbook of International Law* 8(1963):61-75.

Andrew Greeley, an Irish Catholic professor at the University of Chicago, writes that the sociological question is *not* whether his nationality, religion, or residence is his most important identity, but "under what circumstances he defines himself" in terms of one of these identities. Andrew W. Greeley, *Who Am I? Us?* (New York: Dutton, 1971), p. 86.

The situational character of the human self is strongly emphasized in the impression management mode of analysis associated with the work of Erving Goffman. A specific application of this approach to the study of ethnic groups is found in Freda and William A. Douglass, "Ethnicity: Strategies of Collective Action and Impression Management," *Social Research*, 40(Summer, 1973):344-365.

Erving Goffman uses games as examples of social encounters in which people typically operate within the narrow confines of the activity at hand. Goffman comments on the "frame" by which encounters are protected from being "inundated" by extraneous factors such as the social statuses of the players. Erving Goffman, *Encounters: The Sociology of Interaction* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), pp. 13-14. Everett C. Hughes notes the frequency with which supposedly irrelevant details intrude on many situations. Most people expect a doctor, for example, to be middle-aged. The fact that a doctor turns out to be a woman, a young woman, or very old is disconcerting at least. Adjustments are made accordingly. Hughes relates his practice to those of his own ethnic group, a woman doctor in pediatrics. Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *American Journal of Sociology* 50(1945):353-359.

to be reversed. in some situations, a person and his or her identity may be so strongly defined that they cannot be easily forgotten. In such cases, the person is a Jew, though all people are reminded should the conversation turn to the subject of religion. Implicit in much that follows is the idea that ethnicity is not an inherent trait of any individual or group but is subject to situational variation.

## **VARIATIONS IN ETHNIC IDENTITY: BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS**

The sociologist's interest in ethnic identity, as in all other aspects of sociological investigation, concerns the variability of this identity in different situations. In the remainder of this chapter, we will explore two dimensions of this variability: (1) the intensity and nature of ethnic identity of different ethnic groups in different social situations, and (2) the degree of ethnic identity of different kinds or categories within an ethnic group. It is one thing, for example, to compare the ethnic consciousness of blacks and Chicanos in the United States. It is quite a different thing to compare the degree or kind of ethnic identity among the middle classes and the lower classes in the United States. This chapter takes up the first of these two kinds of variability.

## **Variations in Ethnic Consciousness between Ethnic Groups**

Ethnic identity, like age, sex, social class, or any other category, is not always emphasized or relatively ignored in a given social situation. The relations may be such that it is brought home to you that you are a white man, or an Englishman, or a Catholic. In other situations, ethnic background may be permitted to sit lightly upon the shoulders of a person. In a fairly high degree of ethnic consciousness seems to be a characteristic of human society, we may learn something about the nature of ethnic consciousness by looking at some "cases" or societies in which this aspect of identity seems to be particularly prominent. First, we can look at the situation of societies with strong commitments to the minimization of ethnic differences. The United States of America comes readily to mind. The United States proscribes discrimination on the basis of race. In somewhat more technical terms, American society has achieved a high degree of embodying an *achievement* rather than an *ascription*.

<sup>10</sup> According to American ideals, it is not "who you are" (or other ascribed characteristics) but "what you do" that determines the social estimate of one's worth. At least since the publication of Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, it has been widely recognized that there is considerable discrepancy between the egalitarianism espoused in the Declaration of Independence and the realities of American practice, in which invidious ethnic distinctions are constantly being made.<sup>11</sup> It has been widely assumed that the awareness of this discrepancy would lead to efforts to bring reality closer to the ideal, so that eventually American society would become as undifferentiated as the value system implies. In fact, however, a great deal about "unmeltable ethnics" and the persistence of ethnic consciousness in America.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, it is true that the ideology of the inherent equality of all has had a corrosive effect on ethnic identity in the United States. Hyphenated Americans have come to feel more identification with the hyphen than with that preceding it. Another possible factor in diminished ethnic consciousness is the emphasis, in a given society, on some nonethnic basis of social status, emphasized at the expense of ethnic consciousness. Brazil serves as an example. Brazil's so-called racial democracy has encouraged blacks and racially mixed persons to assume major roles in the society.<sup>13</sup> These opportunities for blacks have been obscured by the country's extreme social-class consciousness, in which a person's background may be overlooked if the person has wealth and high levels of social esteem.<sup>14</sup> There is even the feeling that

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Robert Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 10.  
Harold Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944).  
Israel Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 1.  
Why, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*

Jo Willems, "Racial Attitudes in Brazil," *American Journal of Sociology* 66 (1960): 402-408.

There are many popular Brazilian expressions to indicate this intermingling of traits. For example, "a rich Negro is a white and a poor white is a Negro." See Wagley, *Amazon Town* (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p. 135. For other related features of ethnic identification elsewhere in Latin America, see Pitt-Rivers, "Race, Color and Class in Central America and the Caribbean," *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967): 542-559.

itself can be altered by the social mobility process, that "money whitens."<sup>15</sup> An additional factor is the fact that the substantial interbreeding of the Portuguese with the indigenous Indians and with imported African slaves has created a variety of mixed racial types in the country. Thus, the variety of physical appearance make uncertain the exact racial classification of a person.<sup>16</sup> With race so complex and controversial in Brazil, and with social class such a strongly developed concept, the vagueness of racial identification in Brazil is understandable.

### **Factors in the Basis of Ethnic Identity**

We have noted the view that ethnicity is based on a combination of factors, ranging from race, religion, or national origin. A closer examination of ethnic identity will show that, in a given society, one or more of these criteria of ethnicity may be emphasized at the expense of the others. At times, of course, the three reinforce one another. The concept of peoplehood that is at once racial, religious, and national, like the "Anglo-Saxon Protestant," for example, or "Irish-American," applied to an American, implies not only his nationality but also his religion and white race.

More restricted versions of common ancestry emerge when one or more of these criteria of ethnic affiliation work at cross-purposes. The non-Roman Catholicism of a group of people may be the primary factor in dividing sharply along racial or national lines. In the United States, for instance, Catholics will identify themselves as Irish Catholic, Italian Catholic, or Polish Catholic. And in Belgium, a largely

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<sup>15</sup> N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); W. H. Hutchinson, *Village and Plantation Life in Northeastern North Carolina* (Washington Press, 1957). The same situation may be noted in the case of the colonial administrators charged with the racial classification of Melanesians. When racial breeding was so common, ultimately they threw up their hands and decided to define their own racial membership. Chester L. Hunt and John H. Coatsworth, *Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1974*, p. 139.

<sup>16</sup> It has been suggested that in America, too, the rising importance of social identities as age, sex, and profession may be undermining racial identity. For an application of this idea to Jewish identity in America, see S. Liebman, "American Jewry: Identity and Affiliation," in *The Future of the Jewish Community in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1972), p. 52.

are sharp—often bitter—divisions between the French and the Walloons (of French origin). Sometimes nationality does not prevent differentiation of identity along other lines: white vs. black in the United States, or Protestant vs. Catholic in Northern Ireland.

An important question about ethnicity in any society, therefore, is the importance placed upon racial, religious, and national identity. To illustrate sociological analysis in this vein, we will examine contemporary societies that are heterogeneous along nationality lines: the United States and South Africa. In the United States, that the people who populate the United States come from many different national origins is a familiar fact. Also familiar is the “melting pot” view of American society, whereby immigrants are sometimes cajoled, into an “Americanization” process and eventually gave up their differentiated national identities.<sup>18</sup> Another familiar fact is the progressive elimination of a conscious tie to the “old country.” The increasing tendency of people to marry across lines of nationality means that individuals can ignore their national ethnicity in choosing a mate. If so, they presumably can avoid generally any sharp divisions along national origins.

One common conception of the loss of ethnic identity in the United States is usually to be modified with the discovery that, while the tendency to marry across lines of national origin is increasingly common in the United States, the increase in the tendency to marry across lines of religion is not. The most intermarriage across lines of national origin is found among people from countries with the same predominant religion. For example, among Irish and Polish and Italians (Catholic) and among Scandinavians and British (Protestant). Kennedy’s conclusions about patterns of intermarriage in New Haven, Connecticut, lead to a “multiple melting pot” conception of assimilative tendencies in the United States, with each major religious grouping (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) providing a framework for continuing ethnic identity in the United States, rather than one of national origins as such a basis.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> For a description of the Americanization movement, see Milton M. Eisenhower, *American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 98–100. For a discussion of the “melting pot” concept, see Jo Reeves Kennedy, “Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage in the United States,” *American Journal of Sociology* 58 (July 1952): 56–59.

iron found a similar tendency toward religious endogamy (within one's religious category) in a small Connecticut town. He shows that religious endogamy among Protestants is more than simply the marriage of Protestant with Protestant. Marriages are between persons of the same religious denomination: Lutheran, Presbyterian, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The triple melting pot hypothesis was elaborated upon in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*.<sup>22</sup> Herberg notes the contumacious refusal of Americans to identify themselves by their religion, even when they are evasive about their national origins. An anecdote in the book concerns an army sergeant who is interviewing a recruit about his religious affiliation. After being told that he is neither Protestant nor Catholic, the recruit asks the sergeant successively if he were Protestant, Catholic, or Jew. The sergeant exclaimed, "Well, what the blazes are you?"<sup>23</sup> This is so much taken for granted in the United States that individuals who do not so identify themselves are socially disadvantaged. Recent articles in popular magazines have been encountered by agnostic or atheistic couples when they were asked to identify themselves. Political success is probably dependent on having a religious affiliation. When, in the 1960 presidential campaign, Kennedy's Catholicism was raised, his Republican opponent said that this should be an issue. The "tolerant" answer is that it should only if a candidate had *no* religion should it be an issue. In the United States, religious identity is almost tantamount to being religious. The "blazes-are-you" status.<sup>24</sup>

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in Barron, *People Who Intermarry* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p. 10. See also W. Greeley, "Religious Intermarriage in a Denominational Context," *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(May, 1970) 949-952.

Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955), p. 10. See also Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, p. 40.

Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, p. 10. The "suspected 'un-Americanism'" of any American who does not identify himself with a religion is illustrated in Banton's citation of the experience of an eminent sociologist, W. I. Thomas. While a college student, Thomas worked in Chicago. He was asked by fellow workers, "What are you?" Thomas answered, "I am a sociologist." The questioners, however, "this answer was not acceptable. 'American' and everyone had to fit into some ethnic category. Eventually Thomas was called 'Englishman!'" Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 10.

is not on of the persistence of religious identification of national origin identification in the United States has much criticism has taken is to show that religious endogamy in some places as it was in Kennedy's New Haven rate of marriage between Catholics and non-Catholics or in many other places, especially where Catholic majority in the community.<sup>25</sup> Even when Catholics do marry they may have a strong preference for marriage partners of the same national origin. The hostility between Irish and non-Irish Catholics led to a very low intermarriage rate, for example, between

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another line of analysis that is implicitly critical of the decline of national origin consciousness is the finding that the decline of national origin consciousness is not complete today as one might have anticipated from the assimilation of ethnic groups—clubs composed of Italian-Americans, African-Americans, etc.—flourish today in many parts of the country, and people identify themselves as half-Polish and half-Jewish if their parents were of those two national origins. Political parties are constrained to “balance the ticket” by nominating people of different national origins that will appeal to the “ethnic vote.” Also, as one indication of continued sociological importance of national origin in America, several major publishing houses have launched new series of analyses of Americans of different national origins. The fact that specific ethnic groups may serve to enhance national identity, even at the expense of lessened religious consciousness, is illustrated by a Christian Arab group from Iraq, Sengstock showed that the rise of heightened Arab nationalism associated with the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict, these people have come to a new awareness of their national identity.

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L. Thomas, “The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Partners,” *Sociological Review*, 16(August, 1951):487–491. Similarly, the proportion of intermarriage is much more frequently in Iowa and Indiana, where the proportion of Catholics is very small. Marshall Sklare, *America's Jews* (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 100.

W. L. F. Why Can't They Be Like Us?, p. 90. For further evidence on the importance of national origin for Catholics of different national origins, see Harold J. Abramson, *The Catholic Factor* (New York: Wiley, 1973), pp. 51–68.

See R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer, *The Ethnic Factor* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), pp. 100–101.



is.<sup>28</sup> All these developments may be symptomatic of a long-standing view that, in American society, one stands higher than one's national origin in the scale of consciousness.

In South Africa, the main dilemma of ethnic identity is the conflict between *national origin* (or *nationality*) on the one hand and *national origin* (or *nationality*) of native peoples) on the other.<sup>29</sup> The white vs. black conflict in the whole world is familiar coexists with national identity that threaten always to dilute a simple race consciousness. On the one side, there has been a chronic conflict between the Dutch (and later) conquerors of the Cape and the English who were unable to dominate South Africa (the Union of South Africa was part of the British Empire in 1904). Equally "white," Dutch and English were far apart culturally, as symbolized by the languages spoken—the Dutch developed an African variety called *Afrikaans*. At times it has appeared that the conflict would override their sense of racial unity.<sup>30</sup> But the demands of native demands for an end to the historical oppression has created an awareness that, after all, the English dominate the country economically, have just as much a system of racial domination as do the Afrikaners, who dominate the country politically.<sup>31</sup> According to van den Berghe, white unity is stirring a *hart gevaar*, an Afrikaans phrase meaning "black heart danger." On the black side, there has been a traditional pattern of tribalism, which divides natives into many "peoples" with different customs and ways of life. The policies of the white government have been to encourage this tribalism.

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C. Sengstock, "Traditional and Nationalist Identity in a Christian Context," *Theological Analysis*, 35(Autumn, 1974).201-210.

Following discussion is based on Pierre L. van den Berghe, *Social Structure of South Africa* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1965).

B. Orlik, "Divided Against Itself: South Africa's White Polity," *American Studies*, 8(July, 1970) 199-212.

An analysis of this "curious phenomenon" by which the English dominate the country economically while the Afrikaners rule it politically, see Julius Le Roy, *South Africa: Essays on Race Relations* (London: Merlin Press, 1965).

van den Berghe, *South Africa*, p. 107.

van den Berghe, *South Africa*, p. 49.

a have successively attacked, then attempted to particularism.<sup>34</sup> The recruitment of native labor to mines of the country's industrial economy, has separated tribal insulation and treated them as an undifferentiated group. More recently, a policy of "tribalism" has been the *apartheid*, or racial segregation, policy of the government. Attempts are made to segregate workers in labor compounds by origins. The "Bantustan" policy of the government, the use of traditional tribal languages, and the establishment of "higher education" in the native languages are debatable whether this policy is, as many natives suspect, of the government to divide and conquer, or, as some claim, a humane respect for native tradition. At any rate, the struggle against racial domination tend to reduce tribalism and to cast their lot with a Pan-African black identity with their traditional tribal identities.<sup>35</sup> Altogether, the policies in South Africa have tended to reduce a complex of national or tribal identities to the polarized identities.

## VARIATIONS IN ETHNIC IDENTITY: WITHIN ETHNIC GROUPS

The discussion so far has concerned variations in the degree of ethnic identification between different peoples. In fact that there is usually significant variation of ethnic identity within an ethnic group. In analyzing this variation, we use the sociological procedure of looking at differences in the different kinds of identity among different social structures. For illustration, we shall consider the variable

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a general discussion of "tribal particularism" as it was practiced in their East African colonies, and of some of the effects of tribalism and after the period of anticolonial revolt, see P. H. Gulliver, *Tribalism in East Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).  
e L. van den Berghe, "Language and Nationalism in South Africa," pp. 37-46. For a general analysis of the South African Bantustan policy, see van den Berghe, *Ethnic Dynamics*, pp. 171-175.  
van den Berghe, *South Africa*, p. 234.

of class and occupation and show how variations related to variations in ethnic identity.

## Generations

Sociologists have been made aware by Mannheim and others that different age categories or generations may have very different attitudes and behavior. Generational differences may thus be one of the most significant social structural variables for purposes of sociological investigation.<sup>37</sup> This awareness confirms the popular understanding of a "generation gap" often exists between people of different generations. The application of the generation variable to the study of ethnic identity has not generally followed the strict definition of a generation as individuals born at about the same time. It is certainly an advantage to differentiate the ethnic identities of members of an ethnic group—older vs. younger Americans, for example. However, most sociological attention has focused on the study of immigrant peoples and has defined generations in terms of the time of individuals from the time of their own immigration. Thus, *first generation* refers to immigrants, *second generation* to the children of immigrants (and so on), *third generation* to those who immigrated as children and spent their entire lives in a new country), *third generation* to the grandchildren, etc.<sup>38</sup> Numerous sociological studies have been

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Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in Paul Kecskemeti, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 135. T. W. Adorno, *From Generation to Generation* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1965). In most circumstances there is at least a rough correlation between generation defined as young vs. old, since most grandchildren are younger than most immigrants. In a situation in which new immigration is diminished (as in the case of Japanese and Chinese immigration), the correlation will be very high, and age can practically be substituted for generation in its effect on ethnicity. Where new immigration is still very high, as in the case of the United States—there may be many new immigrants (first generation) who are the children of immigrants (second generation). Where this situation exists, the sociologist's task to separate the effects of age and immigrant status (third generation) by controlling for the effects of one of these variables will be difficult. We are being examined. For an example of a study that does this, see Milton Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans. Three Generations in the Making* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

ethnic identities of people of different generations was  
away. The United States, as a "land of immigrants," has  
target of this kind of analysis.

A number of influential historians and sociologists have  
a general scheme for explaining generational differences in  
this scheme is the starting point for most studies in the  
to this interpretation, immigrants took with them to America  
were much more regional or local than national. Chinese  
immigrants tended to insulate themselves from the  
social environment by settling among people from  
often gave the name of their old-country village to the  
community in which they lived (often with "New  
...").<sup>40</sup>

cept, perhaps, in some rural communities where a high  
immigrants from the same home-country region or town  
endency of the immigrant to maintain a very narrow  
eroded under American social conditions. For one  
native-born Americans were not keenly aware of the  
of peoplehood, and tended to treat as alike all who  
age or adhered to a given religion. (The native Amer-  
el that "all Chinamen look alike.") For another, the  
d that they had to widen the scope of their associa-  
s of their national origin if they hoped to maintain  
urches, schools, and welfare associations.<sup>41</sup> The

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ar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952); Herbert  
; Marcus L. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cam-  
sity Press, 1940); Bernard Lazewitz, "Contrasting the Effects  
nd Age on Group Identification in the Jewish and Protestant  
s, 49(September, 1970):50-59.

imilar process among southern migrants to northern cities is noted  
ample, there is a Tennessee Street, so named because so many m-  
ettled there. Lewis M. Killian, *White Southerners* (New York: R.  
s.

same tendency has been noted in such "internal" migrant situ-  
American Indians from rural tribal reservations and their "relocation"  
location policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has encouraged  
many different cities and discouraged the formation of tribal "gh-  
he result is an identity-widening effect called pan-Indianism, which  
o reasons suggested in the case of immigrant ethnic peoples. (1)  
s do not recognize and sharp tribal differen

as strangers in a new land was to lessen some of  
prevailed among people of the same country but  
subcultures.<sup>42</sup> To this enlarged home-country iden  
grant remained firmly attached  
members of the second generation, in spite of the b  
grant parents to inculcate a strong identity based  
d to reject this identity, at least according to the sch  
ve are following. For many children of immigrants  
d in a painful way—some variant of “Am I Italian  
ren who attended public schools and competed for  
ers in the wider American society were likely t  
minations practiced against those adhering to the  
parents. Many children were accordingly ashamed  
ashamed of any such marks of ethnic identifica  
ding name.<sup>44</sup> Name changing—the Anglicizing of

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(2) because any semblance of an Indian “community” must  
Indians at large, given the paucity in any one urban neighborho  
a Navaho man complained that he could go every bar in L  
other Navaho). Los Angeles is generally noted for the wide di  
in its population and for the development under such urban con  
density and community life. John A. Price, “The Migration and A  
to Los Angeles,” *Human Organization*, 27 (Summer, 1968)  
s of the situation in San Francisco, see Joan Ablon, “Relocate  
San Francisco Bay Area. Social Interaction and Indian Identity,”  
ter, 1964) 296–304.

ould be noted that the experience of immigration does not alw  
ng effect. West Indian immigrants to Great Britain, like other I  
have gone to England with a strong sense of themselves as Brit  
lered by a thoroughly British education at home. Once in Englan  
ered by the rejecting reactions of the natives that they represen  
of Britain: the black Briton. West Indian identity is, indeed, br  
ause of a breakdown of smaller identities, but rather from a diss  
-hiro, *Black British, White British* (London: Eyre & Spottiswo  
L. Child, *Italian or American* (New Haven: Yale Universit  
on of writings on the problems of second-generation immigrat  
*Children of the Uprooted* (New York: Braziller, 1966).

phenomenon of being ashamed of one's parents is not, of cours  
ns; many children are ashamed of their parents because their  
the social standards of an earlier generation or of a lower so  
of second-generation rejection of parents need to be more c  
n alienation from old-country ways and alienation from nonet  
between parents and children

to Peters, from Rosenberg to Rose)—is one of inter-generational rejection of ethnicity.<sup>45</sup> The ethnic identification of third-generation immigrants is a continuing controversy. Historian Marcus Hansen formulated the "law of third-generation return" to the country, rejected by the second generation, tends to be true.<sup>46</sup> Herberg took up this thesis in a revisionist analysis of Jewish identity rather than national origin identification.<sup>47</sup> In essence, known as the Hansen-Herberg thesis, the grandchild tends to honor what the child of the immigrant has forgotten or rejected, or separate national or religious identity. The explanation lies in the threat to individual identity prevailing in America. The second-generation persons felt the need to strive for a new Americanism for themselves by rejecting the ethnicity of their parents. The first-generation persons, secure in their Americanism, were content with just to be an American. The question they posed was: "What is an American? To whom, or to what, do I belong? Many individuals, following this line of thought, find themselves through identification with a group—whether a "people" based on religion, race, or ethnicity. The idea of a revival of ethnic identity in later generations has attracted considerable attention in recent sociological work. Much of the research on American Jews has seemed to make a case for this thesis. The continuing decline in succeeding generations of the number of Jews who observe the traditional religious rituals, there is an increasing number of Jews in later generations who are interested in perpetuating their ethnic identity.

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The tendency of celebrities—movie stars, etc.—to Anglicize their names is discussed in H. J. Herberg, *The Protestant Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1967). For tendencies among second-generation Slavic Americans, see Louis F. Gottschalk, *Slavic Americans* (New York: Harper, 1942).

Marcus Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*.

Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*.

Herberg makes the intriguing observation that religious affiliation is more important in those countries in which there is no single or dominant religion. He argues that religious affiliation can serve the "ethnic" function better than nationality. One's religion tends to differentiate him from other members of his community. See H. J. Herberg, *Can't They Be Like Us?*, p. 83. For a contrast to the religious situation in America, see R. F. Tomasson, "Religion Is Irrelevant in Sweden," *Transatlantic*, 1964, pp. 46–53, which describes a "one church" society in which religious affiliation is a qualification for social position.

consciousness in their children.<sup>49</sup> One indication of the tendency for Jewish children to receive some kind of special education is the fact that the growth of Jewish identity is undoubtedly related to American society: to the persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany, to the growth of the state of Israel as a symbol of Jewish achievement, and to the growth of university students in England finds that, while the growth of Jewish activity in later generations, there is a growing identification of younger English Jews with the vicissitudes of Jewish life.<sup>50</sup> It is really impossible, then, to know how much of the ethnic identity in the United States is due to the "law" and how much to events occurring to the Jewish people.<sup>51</sup>

ethnic revival is also being noted, and celebrated. This is known popularly as "white ethnics"—the predominantly white ethnic groups in the United States. Novak notes an increasing ethnic consciousness among people who continue to feel the increasing to resent—the snobbery of the Protestant establishment.<sup>52</sup> In much the same tone, Greeley describes the persistence of ethnic consciousness, including the conscious effort by many young ethnics to identify with their roots through studies of the classic literature of the nation, sentimental visits to the "old country" to see firsthand the ancestral homes.<sup>53</sup>

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Shall Sklare, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York: Free Press, 1969); and Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans*; Lazerwitz, "Continuity, Class, Sex, and Age on Group Identification in the Jewish Communities."

David Wasserstein, "Jewish Identification Among Students at Oxford," *Sociology*, 13(December, 1971) 131–151. Also, see Ernest Krausz, "The Role of Jewish Identification," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 11(Diary, 1972) 1–10. For some reason, Irish-Americans, in the opinion of Father Greeley, have moved to emotional identification with their distressed fellow Jews. Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, p. 168.

An analysis that is sharply critical of the Hansen-Herberg perspective on developments among American Jews, see Stephen A. Sharot, "The Jewish and American Jews," *British Journal of Sociology*, 24(June, 1973) 1–10. See also, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* by David Wasserstein, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, pp. 148–152. Greeley describes the conscious ethnic revival as a variety of "tribalism."

e Hansen-Herberg thesis, with its recent confirmation  
enged by several studies of other American ethnic  
s study of an Italian-American community in E  
ght line" decrease in the salience of ethnic consci  
through the third generations of group members,  
ts a similar finding in his study of the Polish-American  
ngeles.<sup>55</sup> In a foreword to the Sandberg study, Gans  
led ethnic revival may reflect a renewed ethn  
g intellectuals, especially those Catholic intellectual  
k who are experiencing discrimination by the Anglo  
emic establishment and imagine that their fellow et  
ethnic consciousness.

Recent study of Italian and Irish ethnic groups in Pr  
d, suggests that this sense of insecurity may be shar  
of American Catholics.<sup>56</sup> Goering found that, in som  
een a steady decline in ethnic consciousness from  
ations. However, ethnic interest has emerged in the  
e rather negative sense familiar to analysts of recent  
g American "ethnics." White backlash against the  
civil rights movement and, more recently, again  
ead elements in American society has apparently b  
ese groups. Ethnic consciousness may be stimulat  
t from, or perhaps jealousy of, these groups who  
ving of the privileges they are claiming, especially in  
ices made by their ethnic ancestors to obtain the  
selves and their children. Goering summarized the fi  
a criticism of the view, implicit in most of the v  
e, that the ethnic American finds "refreshment" i  
ness: "The third generation does, indeed, return to  
ource of cultural or religious refreshment than as the  
e skepticism associated with discontent and racial

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Robert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press, 1962).

C. Sandberg, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation The Polish-A*  
New York: Praeger, 1974).

M. Goering, "The Emergence of Ethnic Interests. A Case o  
C, 49(March, 1971):379-384.

Goering, "The Emergence of Ethnic Interests " p 383



Glazer's analysis of renewed ethnicity in America develops a different reason for this revival.<sup>58</sup> After noting the failure of ethnic groups to transplant a European national culture, Glazer suggests that the recent revival of ethnic consciousness is a renewed interest in the national fate of their countries, a growing interest among Polish-Americans in what is happening in Poland. In the same way, O'Connor shows the heightened nationalism felt by German-Americans at the outbreak of World War II. It is a consciousness marked by much ambivalence. When a German conductor of an American symphony orchestra played the national anthem on the day of the declaration of war against the United States and Germany in 1917. At the conclusion of the performance, he tears in his eyes, announced to the audience, "But I am on this side."<sup>60</sup> Traumatic events or the threat thereof were experienced by European and Asian countries during World War II, and these countries were unlikely to forget their national origins. It was happening to their compatriots in their countries. It was true whether their hearts lay with America or with Germany across the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean.

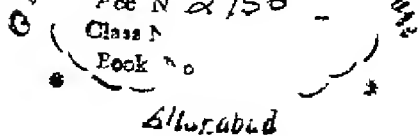
## Social Class

Individuals at different levels of social respectability—those who differ considerably in the degree of importance they attach to their ethnic affiliations. In trying to generalize about this relationship, the most sensible sociological proposition would be this: those who occupy a relatively inferior status position in a social hierarchy or lower-class positions within that ethnic group will tend to identify themselves with their social class rather than with their ethnic status. A number of sociological studies of ethnic groups have found that it is more likely for higher-class persons in ethnic groups to attempt to distance themselves from a derogated ethnic group. This finding could not be inferred or could reasonably be inferred from data reported

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Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ethnicity," in Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (ed.), *Freedom and Control* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), pp. 158–173.

O'Connor, *The German Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1961), p. 406.



in "Yankee City,"<sup>61</sup> West Indian immigrants to Greater Los Angeles, <sup>62</sup> West Indian-American residents of Los Angeles,<sup>63</sup> Hungarian-Americans in the United States,<sup>64</sup> and Mexican-Americans in the south.<sup>65</sup>

Perhaps the best known study that supports the proposition of the social behavior of the black middle class in the United States is that of Frazier. According to Frazier, this black bourgeoisie adopted middle-class life styles with a vengeance. Sometimes their efforts to emulate the life style of the white middle class, since the financial and social pressures to maintain a middle-class life style are somewhat similar to those experienced by white Americans. These middle-class blacks read *Ebony* (which has been called a black version of *Life*), which features success stories and advertisements that emphasize the selling of black products, and other aids to help the black person achieve a more "respectable" physical appearance or life style.

*Black Bourgeoisie* was published in 1957—before the civil rights movement of the 1960s, before blacks began to identify themselves with the growth of identification of blacks with the term "Afro-American" (The label "Afro-American" has only recently been used.) If these movements have had their intended effect of removing the stigma from black identity,<sup>67</sup> then, according to Frazier, with which we started, there should be less tendency

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Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

W. I. Glass, *London's Newcomers. The West Indian Migrants* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

Samuel H. Berg, *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation*.

Alexander Weinstock, "Some Factors that Retard or Accelerate the Process of Assimilation," *Human Relations*, 17(1964):321-340.

Reflected, for example, in the tendency of middle-class Mexican-Americans to use the "Hispanic-American" label for themselves, partly because, apparently, they do not want to be identified with "Mexicans" of a lower class. Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and others, *Hispanic-American People* (New York: Free Press, 1970), p. 386.

Franklin Frazier, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957). There is evidence of some change in black self-conceptions in this direction. In a study of black college students were shown pictures of people of different skin tones and asked to estimate the degree of ability of the pictured individuals. They tended to choose as most able those individuals with intermediate shades of skin tone, neither those with very light or those with dark skins. See H. J. Holtzman, "The Black College Student," *Journal of Black Studies*, 4(September 1969):1-10.

s to deemphasize the racial identity in order to m  
ct.  
me modification of the proposition being discusse  
deration of ethnic identity among people of very  
s. It appears that, in many situations, such persons  
asize rather than to downplay their ethnic origi  
n this is the case seems to depend on whether th  
ion enjoys any degree of respectable status in the  
group members. Thus, in some New Mexico com  
respect for Mexican-American culture that the hig  
of this group tend to maintain strong identification  
nunities.<sup>68</sup> It has similarly been observed that na  
ent measure of ethnic nonidentification—is quite r  
ians and artists in the United States (because of the  
lians for excellence in these areas), while name  
ent among scientists of Italian origin (because of t  
ation in this area).<sup>69</sup> Similarly, refugee intellectu  
s often retain and perhaps cultivate a "thick" ethn  
e high status attributed to German academics.<sup>70</sup>

## Occupation

hough a person's occupation is usually treated as a r  
social-class position, there are often clear-cut dif  
rior among people who make up a given social cla  
broadly upper middle class, the typical college p  
l banker tend to be quite different in a number of wa  
is whether there are some occupations that are part  
favorable to promoting ethnic identity among those  
ation.

bably the most identity-enhancing occupations are  
tation for being dominated by members of a given

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ld J. Silvers, "Structure and Values in the Explanation of Accultu  
of Sociology, 16(March, 1965):68-79.

ence F. Pisani, *The Italian in America* (New York: Exposition Pr

ld Kent, *The Refugee Intellectual* (New York: Columbia Univ

These Americans who decide to go into the laundry business or a Jew who decides to go into diamond merchandising do so without any consciousness of ethnic affiliation or stereotype. But the stereotype of the Chinese laundryman or the Jewish merchant is so strong that the chosen occupation can be used by others to emphasize the individual's ethnicity. Perhaps for this reason that third-generation Jews, wishing to distance themselves from traditional symbols of Jewishness, attempt to work in occupations that are considered "Jewish."<sup>71</sup> In the same way, it is noted that younger Chinese in the Philippines have attempted to distance themselves from the distinctively "Chinese" occupation of tradesman by choosing professions such as the law or teaching.<sup>72</sup>

The association in the public mind of a given occupation with a particular ethnic group may take a unique form in a given local area. It is noted that at one time in Chicago there was a heavy concentration of Scandinavians among Great Lakes seamen, of Flemings among janitors, and of Jews among garment factory workers. In New York City, Puerto Rican immigrants have been employed in large numbers by hotels as bellboys, maids, parking attendants, etc. In these cases has there been any apparent intrinsic reason for the concentration of ethnic group members in the given occupation? Or have they nevertheless had the identity-enhancing effects discussed above? Or is this a result of the stereotyping of ethnic group members in given occupations?

At the other extreme are occupations that seem to be unaffected by their effects on ethnic identity. Much of the writing, sociological and historical, about ethnicity concerns the effect of an individual's occupation on ethnic identity—an understandable emphasis, since many of the individuals involved are themselves intellectuals. It was Mannheim's position that scientists, writers, artists, teachers, etc.—constitute the one exception to the general rule.

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<sup>71</sup> R. Kramer and Seymour Leventman, *Children of the Gilded Age* (New York: University Press, 1961).

<sup>72</sup> T. F. Walker, *Ethnic Dynamics*, p. 110, 111.

<sup>73</sup> R. Pelling, *American Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

<sup>74</sup> J. Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration* (New York: Wood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

ght processes are determined by a person's social  
equations are drawn from *all* social strata, Mannheim  
interpenetration of special viewpoints that allows  
it, stand above the partisan ideological strife of those  
and vested social interests

The same point could be made about the *ethnic* aware-  
ness of the intellectual, a point that has often been  
lack of ethnic identity among engineers, lawyers, and  
people, found that professors were the most likely to ignore  
their occupation without regard to the ethnicity of  
of Jewish professors in the Boston area found that  
variability in the matter, the great majority of profes-  
sors between honoring a professional obligation to teach  
professional convention, etc., and fulfilling the religious  
on a Jewish holiday, would decide in favor of the profes-  
7 Gordon characterizes American intellectuals as  
ing its membership, in the manner suggested by Mannheim  
elements of the society.<sup>78</sup> Greeley goes a bit further  
intellectuals as an "ethnic group" with a consciousness  
set apart, and with a great deal of animosity and  
them," the nonintellectuals.<sup>79</sup> Both Greeley and Mannheim  
and Catholic layman, respectively, comment with  
the tendency of fellow professors and other liberal intelli-  
a soundly ethnocentric lack of sympathy with the mer-  
cholic ethnic groups, even while lavishing their sympathy  
on them. Both these writers suggest that the well-advertised  
"melting pot" of white ethnic Americans may be based at least

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Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, trans. by Edward A. Shils and  
Harcourt Brace, 1936).

Ed L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky, "From Religious Community  
Structural Assimilation Among Professors, Lawyers and Engineers,"  
*Review*, 32(August, 1967) 541-561.

Man L. Friedman, "Jewish or Professional Identity? The Priorities  
Situations," *Sociological Analysis*, 32(Fall, 1971) 149-157.

Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life*, pp. 224-232, 254-257.

Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*

Mannheim, *Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*.

ic" snobbery of the American intellectual.<sup>81</sup> Greeley  
possibility that the intellectual, rather than being "d  
on suggests, has taken on a hidden "ethnic" identity  
tist group.

e analysis above refers to intellectuals from the  
c groups. There might be a quite different pattern of  
among intellectuals from the more disadvantaged et  
acks, Chicanos, and American Indians, in the Un  
groups, intellectuals are among the most visible  
late spokesmen of ethnic consciousness.<sup>82</sup> Black  
and writers have been the backbone of the movem  
identity, whether these movements are expressed  
t demands for social equality or separatist demands  
A similar point could be made for the leadership  
ements in the Third World: the leaders of anti-W  
ements are, ironically, largely men who have been e  
universities.<sup>83</sup> Perhaps the experience of being disc  
pecially productive of intellectual creativity. Perhaps  
r markets for their "ideas" in the resentment of op  
ever the explanation, it seems clear that the remov  
ethnic identity is *not* an accurate description for m  
on the social-status totem pole.

Intellectuals are not alone among people in middle-c  
may experience pressures away from ethnic identity

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ley thus comments with some asperity on the tendency of An  
in the belief that Catholics seldom engage in academic careers  
e evidence of a rising proportion of Catholics in academic careers  
er men and women Andrew M. Greeley, "The 'Religious Factor'  
s Another Communication," *American Journal of Sociology* 79  
1255 For further discussion of Greeley's viewpoint as expressed  
Humphreys, "The Religious Factor: Comment on Greeley's Con  
/ of Sociology, 80(July, 1974) 217-219, and Greeley's "reply,  
ndians, see Robert C. Day, "The Emergence of Activism as a S  
rd H. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (eds.), *Nat  
York: Harper & Row, 1972); on blacks, see Harold Cruse, *The  
ctual* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), on Chicanos, see Joan  
icans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 148-15  
otsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, *Ethnic Stratification* (New York  
0, 451.*

Hungarian refugees, Weinstock indicates that occupations are distinguished by their degree of emphasis on central or peripheral elements."<sup>84</sup> A laboratory technician would illustrate an occupation dominated by central-role elements, since a person's success is pretty much a matter of simple technical performance. A scientist, a man or a business executive may find that all kinds of peripheral elements enter into the determination of his occupational success: personal appearance, manner of speaking, maybe even the lack thereof of his wife. Weinstock accordingly hypothesized that centrality is most tenuous in those situations in which peripheral elements are dominant.

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<sup>84</sup>S. Alexander Weinstock, "Role Elements: A Link Between Acculturation and Status," *British Journal of Sociology*, 14(June, 1963):144-149. Weinstock also hypothesized that centrality is most tenuous in those situations in which peripheral elements are dominant.

# CHAPTER 2

## ETHNIC LIFE STYLES

### THE WAY OF THE PEOPLE

The very term *ethnic group* suggests that an ethnic people is characterized in terms of a culture or life style that distinguishes members of that group. To be a Navaho or an Afrikaner means, in other things, to adhere to a Navaho "way" or an Afrikaner way of thinking and acting.

The great variability of these cultural ways among different peoples has been extensively documented in anthropological and scientific studies of human behavior. This is the theme of William Sumner's classic *Folkways*<sup>1</sup> and of Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*.<sup>2</sup>

Most of this variability is undoubtedly the result of the isolation of one people from another and of differential adaptations to environmental conditions in these isolated locales. But it can also be shown

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<sup>1</sup> William G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: Mentor, 1959).



by having the same gene a ter to y and sub ected to ve  
a co d tions may deve op or ma nta n t ad tona v  
ent from one another. An extended study that ill  
he investigation by an anthropologist and a sociol  
Mexico called "Rimrock."<sup>3</sup> In one small area a  
nunities, each dominated by a different ethnic grou  
n (often called "Anglo" in the Southwest), Morm  
ican. These communities vary sharply in the gener  
' that were of interest to the investigators. They d  
degree of individualism vs. concern for the welfar  
orporated in their ways of life. They also differ on  
that dominate the group's thinking. some ethnic gro  
ted," defining as their ideal the fullest possible deg  
ment of life, while others are "future-oriented," de  
nt of immediate pleasure in the interest of prep  
. Variations in these cultural values had profound ir  
city of each group to deal with conditions in th  
onment that all the groups shared. The Texan and M  
n contrast with the other three, were future-ori  
. However, the life style of the Texans was much m  
hat of their Mormon neighbors so that, while the Te  
erested in projects to improve their future econom  
less able than the Mormons to get together on pr  
nplish this better future.

another sort of "community" with several coexist  
sented, one can see the same kind of tendency for  
mediated by the perspectives provided by trad  
In a Veterans Administration hospital in New Yor  
that members of four ethnic groups—Jewish  
icans, Italian-Americans, and "Old Americans"—d  
nds of "pain behavior," and that these behaviors  
eral cultural themes in the life style of each ethnic  
cans," a future-oriented group of patients, treat  
ng signal to seek medical assistance, and they exp

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ce Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orien*  
eterson, 1961).

Zborowski. *People in Pain* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).

the expression was necessary to help medical people. The Jewish patients, though equally future oriented about their future state of health) were more persistent of medical people to make helpful diagnoses. They were prone to express pain as a way of eliciting the sympathy of their families. The Italian-Americans, reflecting the "suffering and endurance" theme in Italian culture, saw the suffering and inactivity as spoiling their enjoyment of life (for example, eat good food). They complained loudly about the pain, and when it was done to relieve it, after which, in the words of the study, they became very "sweet" patients. The Irish-Americans, like the Italian-Americans, were relatively quiet about their pain. Their attitude reflected the characteristic stoicism in Irish culture whereby males show their strength by showing that they can "take it" when faced with pain. The two studies just reviewed illustrate the fact that different life styles may have many consequences for the social behavior of people who adhere to these life styles. Partly for this reason, the study of ethnic life styles, how they differ and how they underlie human behavior is a matter of interest to students of human behavior far beyond the specialty of the specialist in the study of ethnic groups.

## **CULTURATION**

As long as ethnic peoples live in isolation from one another, except for casual or intermittent contacts of the tourist or the foreigner, we can expect that ethnic life styles, evolved over long years, will be maintained. The rightness of "the way," will be maintained from generation to generation. When the outside contact becomes more permanent, when people who have inhabited a territory are invaded and conquered by foreign people, or when people of one ethnic group move into a region of permanent residence in territories dominated by another ethnic group, more radical changes in traditional life styles may occur. This adoption of alien ways, called the process of acculturation, has probably been the major focus of interest in the study of ethnic groups.

The reason for this interest has been the frequent observation that acculturation may have devastating consequences for the traditional life style to fulfill the needs or desires of people. The traditional life style is this acculturating process. According to this view, the traditional life style represented a delicate adaptation of a people to the environment.

ence. When alien cultural traits are introduced, the preexisting integration of cultural elements. An example, may have been seriously disorganized by the European cultural traits as the concept of private horse for transportation, the drinking of intoxicants, the use of firearms in the settlement of disputes.<sup>5</sup> Those growing up in a tribal way of life in which there is no meaning of different social experiences, is confused when introduced to European life styles that he encounters as an employee in a South African diamond mine.<sup>6</sup>

### Activity of Acculturation

One of the more obvious facts about the acculturation process is that only some of the alien ways of groups with whom contact are adopted as ways of the group. Anthropologists have noted this selective tendency in the acculturation process. "Cultural diffusion" is more rapid with some cultures than others.<sup>7</sup> American Indians, for example, borrowed such things as the horse for travel and of gunpowder for war. They adopted European styles of religious or political belief. The reason for this selective acculturation has been the utility of different cultural items to an acculturating people. European firearms were enriching additions to traditional hunting possible an expansion on well-established patterns of life.<sup>8</sup> The more subtle aspects of European cultural values were not so obvious utility for the Indians. In addition to this selectivity in acculturation, this section will discuss, without less well-articulated principles, the outlines of which are drawn from the extensive body of research on acculturation of specific ethnic groups.

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A major theme of most of the studies of the impact of whites on the Indians is described in Ralph Linton, (ed.), *Acculturation in Seven Areas* (Boston, Mass. Peter Smith, 1963).

A good account of this situation is given in Alan Paton's novel, *Cry, the Beloved Country* (New York: Scribner, 1948).

5. A. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, rev. ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1939), pp. 418-419.

6. O. Lurie, *The Acculturation of the American Indian* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1955).  
7. E. S. Shagrir, *The American Indian Today* (Deland, Fla.: Everett & Shagrir, 1961).

A promising approach to the matter of selective acculturation analyzes the problems of social adjustment of ethnic groups in close proximity to members of other ethnic groups. India, Australia, the United States and Canada, natives and Commonwealth countries, the British Isles—in these and countless other situations the problem is partly one of getting along by making whatever adjustments in life style are necessary. If nothing else, linguistic adjustments must find a common language for intergroup communication. These sorts of adjustments in intergroup or interethnic relations tend to fall most heavily on the weaker parties to the relationship. The problem is largely one of subordinate ethnic groups making adjustments to the life styles of dominant groups. At the end of the chapter, it will be useful to keep in mind Lieberman's distinction between two kinds of ethnic group contact in the world: *migrant superordination*, an invading ethnic group establishing dominance over the people in an invaded territory, typically subjecting them to the status of colonial subjects. In these situations the problem of the colonized is that of acting—or appearing to act—as if they will not bring down the wrath of the power that dominates. In the case of *indigenous superordination*, members of an ethnic group come to a new country not as invaders, but as immigrants, submitting themselves to the control of the “charter groups”<sup>10</sup> who already have dominance over the territory. The adjustment problem for immigrants is likely to be that of adopting enough of the values of the “establishment” to enable themselves to make a living, find a place, and a city, etc.

These kinds of “adjustment” motives for acculturation involve the adoption of the more superficial or surface elements of the dominant culture: language, style of dress, and public “manners” of the dominant group, as required by the subordinate ones. Among Jews there is a saying, “He looks Jewish, but he doesn't look Jewish!” The fact is, however, that even assimilated Jews, or other ethnics, tend not to look ethnic (unlike the dominant group on a racial basis to the ethnicity); nevertheless, they do make adjustments of ethnic life style in the matter of basic values.

essed in the privacy of relations with others of their  
iders are often unaware of these subtleties of una  
yles and are surprised, for example, to learn that the  
dian life style among a people who, to all appe  
tured.<sup>11</sup> This lack of appreciation by outsiders of a  
yle is sometimes used to argue, for example, that  
rstand "soul," or that only a Slavic-American can  
city.<sup>12</sup>

members of a number of subordinate ethnic group  
ency toward a surface level of acculturation to m  
ntage their relations with their ethnic "superiors"  
hite folks manner" affected by southern blacks to  
nites even though among themselves they ridicule  
den Berghe, writing on acculturation among Africa  
rn of native conformity to the ways of their colo  
er of expediency, a conformity to specific norms wit  
ges in traditional values.<sup>14</sup>

ccurring as it often does at this surface level, such  
ly produces "bicultural" individuals who can get a  
group by shifting their behavior when in one gr  
Mayer describes the African native who can affect  
n" and revert easily to traditional tribal ways wh  
nds.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, McFee reports a pattern of behavior

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thaftig and Thomas comment on the striking ignorance of mo  
ce in their state of a flourishing traditional Indian culture, an ig  
have acquiesced as a condition of tolerance for their continu  
aftig and Robert K. Thomas, "Renaissance and Repression: The C  
action, 6(February, 1969):42-48.

critical reaction to what is seen as a "Balkanization of political  
which one critic sees as implicit in such assumptions of the "new  
"A Fever of Ethnicity," *Commentary*, 53(June, 1972) 68-73

Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (Garden City, N Y

e L. van den Berghe, "Toward a Sociology of Africa," *Social For*

o Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen Conservatism and the Pro*  
*uth Africa City*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 19

ilar way the behavior of some Italian-Americans in Chicago wh  
their neighborhood. While at work they are without much Italia  
their return from work they are "obliged to reassume their old w  
les, *Social Order of the Slum Ethnicity and Territory in the*  
ity of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 105

feet Indians of Montana retain tribal ways while trying to acculturated white ways.<sup>16</sup> Middle-class Mexican-Americans in the Southwest reportedly attempt to develop the "bicultural" ideal of speaking both good English and good Spanish.<sup>17</sup> Like the case of French Canadians in Montreal, how this biculturalism is perpetuated over several generations.<sup>18</sup> Although most immigrants learn English as a second language in order to adjust to the new conditions, those who learn English in this manner typically do not, as do most ethnic groups in the United States, transmit the language to their children as a "first language"; rather, the use of French as the primary language is maintained through several generations.<sup>19</sup>

Another basis for selective acculturation is the fact that certain ethnic ways can more easily be retained, because their practice does not jeopardize the ethnic's accommodation to the dominant culture pattern. American Jews, for example, have maintained traditional ritual observances (kosher food practices, Sabbath, etc.) are detriments to easy adjustment to the new environment, and most such practices decline with acculturation. Acculturation involves those religious observances that fit easily into the dominant patterns. The increased celebration of Hanukkah, formerly a minor Jewish holiday, reflects the ease with which it can be integrated into the dominant patterns.

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Colm McFee, "The 150% Man, a Product of Blackfeet Acculturation," *Anthropologist*, 70(December, 1968):1096-1103. On a similar theme among adolescent boys on a Fox Indian reservation, see Steven F. Stein, "Squakie Teenage Boys," *American Anthropologist*, 62(April, 1960):1-10. For a discussion of the mutual images and expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans, see E. Simons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," *Daedalus*, 90(Spring, 1961):286-299.

For a discussion of bilingualism in Montreal, see E. Lieberman, "Bilingualism in Montreal: A Demographic Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 30(July, 1965):10-25.

A similar pattern for Mexican-Americans in San Antonio, Texas, is reported by E. Simons, "Language Maintenance Among Mexican-Americans," *Interpretive Sociology*, 11(December, 1970):272-282; and for the German- and Romansch-speaking peoples of Switzerland in Kurt Mayer, "Linguistic Equilibrium in Switzerland," *American Sociological Review*, 24(June, 1959):311-321.

For a discussion of Jewish identity on the subject of acculturation, see Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Subject of Acculturation* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), chap. 3; Sidney Goldstein and Calvin C. Tjebk, *Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), chap. 9.

be related to the observance of Christmas by American Indians. Another instance of this kind of adaptation of ritual observances to cultural patterns has been found in a Shoshone Indian tribe. As very ritualistic people, the Shoshoni have been moving a number of their ritual events on the national holiday, the Fourth of July.<sup>22</sup>

Acculturation selectivity also arises from the fact that individuals are not equally exposed to all aspects of the dominant culture groups. Colonized people are exposed to a group that may be a rather special breed in their countries of origin. Those with the first exposure to alien contacts are likely to be missionaries, government officials or labor contractors.

The case of selective acculturation based on selective exposure has been reported for a group of Navaho Indians in the United States.<sup>23</sup> Navaho men, somewhat ironically in light of the long history of Indian conflict, tend to affect cowboy dress and participate actively in rodeo events. This life style is, of course, a Western subculture, sometimes referred to as "drugstore cowboy." Navaho men seem to outdo whites in their interest in these activities. It is suggested that this is explainable by the severe isolation of the Navaho. The fact that, in their infrequent trips to town, they are attending a rodeo or some other cultural event celebrating the American Wild West. The Indians of the American West may have a biased view of white American life styles, just as many Americans gain a slanted view of American life through the influence of Westerns among exported Hollywood films. Further extension of this line of analysis should generate that some ethnic group members do experience a more intimate knowledge of the day-to-day behavior of persons from other ethnic groups. Fundamental changes in life style will occur. This interpretation is consistent with the findings of a study of acculturation of Mandan Indians.

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Goldstein and Greenblum, *Jewish Identity*, pp. 55-59, Goldstein and Greenblum, *Immigrants*, pp. 201-203.

22. Harris, "The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada," in Linton (ed.), *American Tribes*, pp. 108, 109.

23. F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Models as a Determinant of Acculturation Among the Pinon Navajo," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 36:3, pp. 53-67.

white ways in a very basic feature of traditional life, a basis on interpersonal generosity.<sup>24</sup> Bruner found that in which there was a significant movement away from generosity, there was an intermarriage with a white person. Indians who adhered to the traditional generosity were exposed to such intimate acquaintance with an "outsider."

## variations in Ethnic Acculturation

Whether an ethnic group preserves its traditional life style or selectively under the influence of contact with another is usually a matter of great variation. This variation can be explained with two observations: (1) There is variation in the degree to which ethnic groups are expected to conform to the direction of the life styles of the dominant groups. (2) There is variation in the tendency of different ethnic groups to acculturate or to preserve traditional ways. These two directions will now be examined.

**Conformity to dominant group life styles.** Whether or not an ethnic group changes in the life styles of its members when under contact with an alien culture depends partly on the willingness of the dominant groups to encourage assimilation of subordinate ones, and partly on the capacity of the subordinate groups to meet these expectations. Gordon discusses this variation in the history of the United States.<sup>25</sup> The ideology of *Anglo-conformity* holds that all ethnic groups acculturate to the dominant life style of the country. *Cultural pluralism* involves the expectation that all ethnic peoples will retain their traditional ethnic ways. These ideologies derive partly from contrasting points of view as to the best for societal functioning. *Dominant-group conformity* is a new term to *Anglo-conformity* that will cover o

Edward M. Bruner, "Primary Group Experience and the Process of Acculturation," *Current Anthropology*, 58(1956) 53-67. For a broad discussion of the effects of acculturation on Indian tribes, as well as the reverse process of "Indianization" of non-Indians, see A. Irving Hallowell, "American Indians, Visions of the Past and of Transculturalism," *Current Anthropology* 4(December 1963) 5-14.

on *Assimilation in American Life*. New York: Oxford U



by a view of society that approaches the totalitarian. One can be on the one hand, one has a value system to which a consensus is a vital condition of societal existence, and a total control or constraint to insure that "deviant" ways are not tolerated. As an ideology, pluralism is most often adhered to as a democratic view of society in which the individuals have the freedom to pursue any life style that they wish (provided it inflicts no harm on others), and in which everyone has the opportunity to be represented when decisions are made and social action.<sup>26</sup>

Even though most Americans conceive of their country as a land of freedom, the expectation of Anglo-conformity has been a recurrent theme in the history of ethnic groups in the United States. This is reflected at the level of official policy by the legislation that restricted immigration and, in the 1920s, set immigration quotas against immigration from eastern and southern Europe, two peoples which were less desirable because they were not familiar with Anglo-Saxon cultural ways.<sup>27</sup> Although this was the result of rigorous lobbying by groups with vested interests, for example, the Ku Klux Klan, there was broad popular support for this legislation. It reflected a trend in the American mentality that surfaced in the nineteenth century: a fear of the influence of "alien" ways and the possibility of subversive conspiracies organized by those who were not of the dominant group. The expectation of dominant group conformity is not a uniquely American kind of indigenous superordination experienced in the United States and other countries. Similar variations

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For a discussion of these contrasting viewpoints, see Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *American Sociological Review*, 1963, 685-705.

George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Basic Books & Row, 1972), pp. 114-123.

For a description of the large number of groups in opposition to the dominant group, see Roger Daniels and Spencer Olin, Jr. (eds.), *Racism in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 55-180.

For a description of the strongly antiforeign sentiment that attended the riot in Chicago in 1879, see Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (eds.), *The American Dream and the Urban Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 10-11.

izing migrations. The problem for colonizers has been in getting sufficient control of the natives to make possible exploitation of the human and material resources of the colonies, reflecting perhaps the democratic ethos of the colonial policy of "indirect rule." Under this policy, the natives were to maintain their traditional life styles with, for example, traditional native bodies that made and enforced the laws in terms of traditional customs and traditions.<sup>30</sup> Dutch policy has been similar to the policies of the British, Spanish, Portuguese, and French policies have been an effort to remake native life styles in the image of the colonizers. Van den Berghe makes the point, however, that such differences tend to have little effect on actual practice. The Dutch colonies in Africa were as "indirectly" ruled as the British colonies in the Americas were as thoroughly as the Portuguese, French, and Spanish ones.<sup>31</sup> The crucial difference, Van den Berghe believes, is that, in Africa, Europeans were able to overwhelm the natives (except in South Africa), thus culture change was treated as a matter of expediency. In the Americas, natives were quickly decimated by a combination of the white man's gun and his diseases. Europeans therefore had the power to impose their life styles on the natives.<sup>32</sup> On occasion, colonizers have vacillated in their policies in conquered territories. The attitude of the United States toward the native Indian population illustrates the vacillating policy and of second and third thoughts about

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Franklin Frazier, *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 191-202.

30. L. van den Berghe, "Racialism and Assimilation in Africa and the Americas," *American Journal of Anthropology*, 19(Winter, 1963):424-432. It might be noted that these policy differences between British and French colonialism are not always reflected in actual practice in, for example, the West Indies, where the French colonies contrast with the more pluralistic tendencies of the British colonies in the same area. Chester L. Hunt and Lewis Walker, *Ethnic Diversity in the Caribbean* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Press, 1974), chap. 7.

31. The decimation of native peoples has been shown to have occurred among the native peoples of North America but also among the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand. A. Grenfell Price, *White Settlers and Native Peoples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950). The devastating effect on the natives of one kind of "Europeanization" is the grim irony of the observation that what the Europeans brought to the natives was a process of Europeanization.



or scattered that acculturation is no issue for them. He notes that German migrants to Australia in the nineteenth century had no "Anglo" or other dominant group whose culture they had adopted, so they had no choice but to set up institutions on Australian soil.<sup>39</sup> Once British domination was established, however, later immigrant groups such as the Italians were under pressures to adopt these Anglo ways. In a study of Italian immigrants in the United States who settled in the West rather than the East, F. F. Rolle observed the similar point that Italians in the West were relatively free from Anglo-conformity pressures, so they remained in the West for a relatively long time.<sup>40</sup> Not all frontier situations are equally conducive to resistance to group conformity. If members of an immigrant group are in a broad frontier, they will be less able to import their own culture. Glazer thus contrasts the failure of German-Americans (because of their scattered pattern of settlement) to establish a "German-American" identity in America and the relative success of the Irish-Americans and of the Mormons in establishing such identities. Another society noted for their tolerance of ethnic diversity is the United States. It may be one in which there are two or more dominant groups, one of which is able clearly to establish its right to provide the framework for acculturation of immigrant peoples. The well-known pluralistic society is probably related to the bicultural character of the United States, English and French.<sup>42</sup> Some cities are noted for having populations so ethnically heterogeneous that there is really no one standard for the acculturation of immigrants. According to Glazer and Moynihan, this heterogeneity is one of the reasons for ethnic groups in New York City to "melt" into the majority culture.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, in a study of Mexican-Americans

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D. Borne, *Italians and Germans in Australia* (Melbourne: F. W. Pines, 1964).  
F. F. Rolle, *The Immigrant Upraised* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).  
Irving L. Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ethnicity," in Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (eds.), *Freedom and Conformity* (New York: Octagon Books, 1964), pp. 158-173.

Anthony H. Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada," *Immigration and Migration Review*, 5(Fall, 1969):5-24.

Irving L. Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (New York: Basic Books Press, 1970).

na it is suggested that one reason for the lack of acculturation among ethnic groups is the city's polyglot mixture of ethnic populations, blacks, Puerto Ricans—indeed almost everyone except the Anglo-Saxon Protestants who are so often characterized as holders of Anglo-conformity.<sup>44</sup>

**Relations between ethnic groups.** Any generalization about dominant group conformity in a given society is heavily qualified by the fact of variation between the groups in that society. By way of explanation of these differences we define three kinds of variables—exposure, sensitivity,

**Exposure.** Acculturation assumes a degree of contact between peoples with diverse life styles, whether this contact involves direct presence or less direct hearsay stories that are told from one culture to another. It must be noted, however, that even people with direct means at hand to be informed about the ways of another group may be isolated from actual effective contacts. Several types of isolation are described below.

First, ethnic groups who might provide the model for acculturation may deliberately conceal basic features of their culture, in effect, intended or unintended, of preventing their information from reaching the dominant group. For instance, the relatively few well-educated African Americans in the United States or former colony may find a high degree of exclusiveness in their intimate contact with colonists of higher status. This exclusiveness is symbolized, for example, among the French in Dakar, Senegal, who found ways of segregating themselves in exclusive parts of the city.<sup>46</sup>

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Samora and Richard Lamanna, "Mexican-Americans in a Multicultural Society," in E. Segal (ed.), *Racial and Ethnic Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 230–242.

Super, *An African Bourgeoisie. Race, Class and Politics in South Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).

Mercier, "The European Community of Dakar," in Pierre L. Van den Berghe (ed.), *Social Problems of Change and Conflict* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 115–125.

cond ethnic groups may discourage the r own acc by so ating themselves in some degree from cor de their own group. The development of enclav ng to maintain an "old country" life style can partly asis.<sup>47</sup> Even more clearly, radical religious sects (in Amish, Hutterites, and Mormons, for example) ma d their children from the acculturating influence c schools in their areas. Sometimes these sects ous conflict with people from the dominant cult ict depending somewhat on whether dominant gro al pluralism prevails in the area.<sup>48</sup> If forced to ma turating forces, these groups tend to limit the conce ble.<sup>49</sup> Thus, Hutterites in the United States and Can usifying government education requirements by ma school" alongside the ethnically oriented "German ain a tight rein on the English teacher's relations w apless "school marm" become a source of corrupti

rd, apart from any specific intention of such isolati ion of ethnic group members may minimize contac oncentration of Chinese-Americans in the laundry l ibed as having an isolating effect on the laundry s him in contact with non-Chinese only in the sterec ashee" relation of customer and small business ov

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ner, *The American Minority Community*, pp. 79, 80

search of a Hutterite colony for a congenial environment, which Canada and Mexico successively, and are now looking for ca, is described in Harry L. Sawatzky, *They Sought a Country* (California Press, 1971)

he "bending" of Hutterite rules under the pressure for Anglo-c "Controlled Acculturation: A Survival Technique of the Hutteri ' Review, 17(June, 1952):331-340

A. Hostetler and Gertrude E. Huntington, *The Hutterites in Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp. 98-100, John W. Benne Alto, Calif. Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 101.*

C. P. Siu, "The Isolation of the Chinese Laundryman," in E d J. Bogue (eds.), *Contributions to Urban Sociology* (Chicago 1964). pp. 429-442

gang employment of Mexican Americans as menial kinds of employment has had such an isolating effect.

*Activity.* As any frustrated professor knows who expects reading and lecture material only to discover that the exposure is a necessary but not a sufficient condition, there must be a sufficient level of motivation and identification with the learning process.

Members of many ethnic groups maintain a greater interest in ways of their ethnic group than with the new ways to which they are exposed. A number of observers of efforts to teach the ways of middle-class Anglo-Saxon life styles to American Indians have noted this kind of resistance to acculturation. They often err in attributing educational backwardness to the children in the homes of Indian children when, in fact, their parents are resistant to the cultural heritage to which the Anglo school curriculum is irrelevant.<sup>53</sup>

Observers of acculturation among immigrant groups to the United States often commented on the variation in degree of receptiveness to Anglo-conformity. One factor in this variation can be the different intentions of ethnic groups in immigrating to the United States. Some, like the Jews, Armenians, and Italians, have "burned their bridges behind them" with no intention of ever returning to their countries of origin.<sup>54</sup> Others, like the Greeks, Poles, and French Canadians in "Yankee

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ward Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexican-Americans in the United States: Social Differentiation," *Sociology and Social Research*, 36(January-February, 1951) 1-15.

Canadian Indians, see A. D. Fisher, "White Rites Versus Indian Rites," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 7(February, 1969) 29-33, and Charles W. Hobart, "Eskimo Education," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 7(February, 1969) 34-38. For American Indians, see Robert V. Dumont, Jr., and Murray L. Wax, "Challenges to the Intercultural Classroom," *Human Organization*, 28(Fall, 1968) 241-246. A. Chadwick, "The Inedible Feast," in Howard M. Bahr, Bruce G. Trigger, and C. Day (eds.), *Native Americans Today* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 45.

Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 106.

andans in Burlington Vermont<sup>55</sup> to an Americans group  
s in New York City,<sup>57</sup> the Chinese in California  
East Asia,<sup>58</sup> the Irish in Britain,<sup>59</sup> and the Mexican-  
go, Indiana,<sup>60</sup> maintain a "sojourner" attitude toward  
new country. Since they intend eventually to return to  
in the case of some Italian-Americans) "settle the  
back home,<sup>61</sup> these people are little concerned if they  
ed by the strangers among whom they live.  
other source of continued sensitivity to "back home  
continuous influx in some immigrant situations of  
cultured members of the particular ethnic group  
of Puerto Ricans in New York City or of Mexican  
parts of the United States furnishes members of the  
recurring reminders of life styles in their countries

s. The likelihood that members of ethnic groups will  
e styles of the dominant ethnic groups in their area is  
e relative statuses of the ethnic groups in question  
ance to adopt alien ways is based on a sense of  
own ethnic group. The haughty disdain of European  
primitive" ways of the natives is a striking example  
d States had attained political independence from  
Britons thought of Americans as inferior "colon

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L. Anderson, *We Americans* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1955).  
Joseph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1968).  
Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968).

number of references to sojourner attitudes of "overseas Chinese".  
specific contrast of the attitudes toward immigration of Chinese  
China may be found in Stanford M. Lyman, "Contrast in the Cor  
Chinese and Japanese in North America," *Canadian Review of  
ology*, 5(May, 1968) 51-67.

Archer Jackson, *The Irish in Britain* (London: Routledge and  
Samora and Lamanna, "Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropol  
Lopreato, *Italian Americans*, p. 32  
Fitzpatrick, *Puerto Rican Americans*; Samora and Lamanna, "Me  
West Metropolis."



teenth century British immigrants to the United States  
of the Americans to be too un-British to be wor-  
tion.<sup>63</sup>

the other extreme are ethnic groups of derogated  
g enough to undergo acculturation, find that their a-  
nant-group ways expose them to ridicule and r-  
, Shoshoni Indians are more successful than the M-  
quiring the life style of a cowhand on an Anglo-r-  
Shoshoni are thought by the Anglos to be more c-  
thus Shoshoni are more readily accepted for ra-  
el to this situation is found in Canada, where the ac-  
Eskimo population are better received than are the  
e, largely, it seems, because the Eskimos are able to  
ct from the "Euro-Canadian" community.<sup>65</sup>

e reaction to such rejection by the dominant group  
sive reversion to traditional ethnic group ways as a  
ounds of rejection. A study of several different  
nts at the University of California, Los Angeles, f-  
status of the country of origin was an important fac-  
se students toward American life. Those who exp-  
zens of "inferior" countries developed hostile att-  
d States that made their acculturation more unlik-  
he same vein, Hannerz suggests that the "soul" ori-  
acks is a reaction to the numerous rebuffs blacks s-  
ites.<sup>67</sup> Thought to be a life style attainable only by b-  
superior style that assures the unsuccessful black t-  
ssful. If rejection of acculturation has this kind of e-

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and T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 17  
d University Press, 1953), pp. 135-140.

on K. Tefft, "Task Experience and Intertribal Value Differences  
ation," *Social Forces*, 49(June, 1971), 604-614.

rt J. Dryfoos, Jr., "Two Tactics for Ethnic Survival: Eskimo and  
ry, 1970) 51-54

ard T. Morns, *The Two-Way Mirror* (Minneapolis: University

annerz, "The Rhetoric of Soul Identification in Negro Soci-  
53-465

at most of the exclusiveness of life styles among such groups originated in an earlier situation in which ethnic groups, unable to acculturate to another life style, have been "bored" and have developed the resolve not to repeat the mistake of attempting to do so in other ways.

## REVITALIZATION

Although the purity of ethnic life styles is often diminished by acculturation, sometimes it happens that ethnic groups develop a feeling of greater concern with the maintenance or revival of their traditional life style. Since these movements usually follow a period of acculturation, they may be called "revitalization movements," attempts to recapture some of the traditional life styles once taken so much for granted. Some of the revitalization movements has been discussed in the previous chapter under the heading "second-generation return." However, such revitalizations are not limited to the behavior of third-generation immigrants, as is often claimed. In observing such recent developments in the United States, the revived interest of blacks in "black culture," of Americans in their own traditions, of Chicanos in "La Raza."

In the process of acculturation, revitalization is a process that tends to focus on those traits that are emphasized in the revitalization movement. Members or subsections of an ethnic group develop a sense of identity, they often must choose among several rather than many alternatives. For instance, the recent Pan-Indian revitalization movement has as the symbol of what is Indian the war-bonneted figure of Geronimo, the plains Indian—even though many tribes had no tradition of that way of life.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps it is because of the romanticized image of that type in the lore of the dominant society that Indians have been a highly honorable model as a symbol of a tradition that is lost. In the case of both the American Indian and the black American, it can probably be said in fairness that most of the members of these groups have no direct knowledge of the "tradition" they are trying to revive.

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W. H. Linton, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 52, 1950, pp. 149-158.

recalls the recurring joke about the Indian tribe that once and, when asked to do so by a visitor, museumologist's earlier ethnographic account of this traditional expected role, perhaps, for the "defender of the tradition" thought he was studying natives for the benefit of himself the tribe's own chronicler. Likewise it would seem blacks have more than the vaguest notion of the connection of "Afro" culture with which their own life style is bound. This points up the fact that revitalization may be a function of the ethnic past of a group. The filter of time is not an ethnic person who is proud of his or her heritage but slightly the dead heroes being honored.

How and why do revitalization movements occur? Using a period of serious disorganization resulting from war by a group. A typical case is the formation of the Ghost Dance, which centered around the vision of a Seneca man, some Lake who, apparently in a drunken frenzy, received supernatural messages commanding Indians to give up the use of intoxicants and to return to a purified life style.

The Ghost Dance religion, which swept in two waves among tribes in the 1870s and again in the 1890s, was a message of renunciation of white ways. The new religion was widespread among those tribes that had experienced acculturation to white ways and the most severe disruption of traditional life styles.<sup>71</sup>

Another explanation, which involves more subtle psychological factors, is Mason's view that the acculturating native in the West was subjected to a disillusioning process of "betrayal" by his Western mentors on the implicit promise of personal advancement. Ultimately that his Western mentors no longer believed in his traditional ways are espousing for him.<sup>72</sup> This leads the acculturated

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*Indian Americans*, pp. 136-138

Barber, "Acculturation and Messianic Movements," *American Anthropologist* 5(1941):663-669. A more recent study similarly indicates that the Ghost Dance was inspired, for example, by the loss of the buffalo as a cultural resource of those Plains Indian tribes in which the Ghost Dance flourished. "Revitalization Movements and Social Structure: Some Quantitative Data," *American Anthropologist* 40(June, 1975):389-401.

ed the black American disillusioned with  
behalf—to launch a “search for a peo  
nate in “traditionalist” movements that m  
of the ethnic past, such as the fantasies o  
hat blacks are descended from Islamic c

# CHAPTER 3

## ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Ethnic groups, like any other kind of human grouping, are viewed from a perspective that emphasizes the quality of relations among group members. In our understandable preoccupation with ethnic relations—what happens, for instance, when black meets Gentile—we are sometimes prone to forget that it is also interesting to understand some reasons for the great variety of ways in which people relate to their ethnic peers. The social concept of *community* seems to provide a good starting point for understanding ethnic intragroup relations. A human community, ethnically defined, involves at least two major notions about what constitutes it: (a) a degree of *unity* among community members, reflected in feelings of comradeship and, often, feelings of hostility toward other communities; and (b) a strong *self-sufficiency* in the life of the community members, that is, a dependence of community members on one another and a relative independence from agencies outside the community.

These features of a human community represent characteristics found in varying degrees among different groups of people.

seems to fulfill all the criteria of community if  
ed stringently. On the other hand, no ethnic group  
and self-sufficiency that it has none of the features  
c community is thus a *variable*, and the sociologic  
neralizing about those conditions that encourage or  
ty relationships among members of an ethnic group

## ETHNIC UNITY AND CLEAVAGE

There is a tendency—as we shall discuss in Chapter  
c groups in contact with one another to establish r  
e and subordination between themselves, there sho  
endency for members of an ethnic group to be draw  
of their common persecution or by their common  
ed front to maintain their dominance. This expecta  
familiar sociological principle: that outgroup conflict  
up solidarity.<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Franklin gave classic expre  
n for cohesion in time of crisis: “We must all hang  
all hang separately.” On this consideration, we sho  
up feeling among peoples who nourish long histor  
example, European Jews for many generations, or  
their grievances arising from unfulfilled treaties with  
vise, people with a long history of colonial domina  
n, would be expected to feel strong solidarity as a  
te man’s burden.”

at the matter of differential ethnic solidarity is more  
s illustrated in the case of American Jews. Lewin d  
rn of feelings of Jewish people toward one another  
e of “self-hatred,” as evidenced by the fact, for ex  
h people feel uncomfortable in the presence of other  
y perceive the latter’s behavior as somehow “ot  
of “identification” of Jews with their Jewishness  
ve or negative feelings toward fellow Jews found n  
le with a strong Jewish consciousness had negativ

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g Simmel, *Conflict*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff and *The Web of Cr*  
nhard Bendix (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), see also Lewis A  
*ial Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956)

Lewin *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper, 1948)

the Jews but also that there was even a slight positive  
between Jewish identification and anti-Semitic feelings.<sup>3</sup> In  
"ethnic" feelings have also begun to emerge in the state  
country, it has been noted, the early arrivals experienced  
Jewish solidarity by virtue of the extreme threat to their  
life. With some degree of "normalization" of life in the  
country, there has developed increased hostility between, first  
European and of non-European (mostly North African)  
similar findings of negative or ambivalent attitudes toward  
have been reported for other "persecuted" ethnic groups.  
In the case of Rwanda, numerically dominant Hutu people  
held a generally dominant Tutsi the view that the Tutsi monopolized  
the best human qualities and the Hutu most of the worst.  
Young American Negroes have developed a substantial  
ethnic preference. Earlier findings showed, for example,  
that they preferred white rather than black dolls when given the  
choice. Recent evidence has indicated a change in this pattern, a  
tendency to prefer black dolls, reflecting, perhaps, the impact of  
the "black is beautiful" theme in this ethnic group.<sup>7</sup> When  
asked to see themselves as occupying a derogated status, they  
held quite realistic views of the value imputed to their ethnic

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3. H. Adelson, "A Study of Minority Group Authoritarianism," in *Minority Group Social Patterns of an American Group* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1962), p. 92.

4. T. Shuval, "Emerging Patterns of Ethnic Strain in Israel," *Social Forces*, 32:323-330, Percy Cohen, "Ethnic Group Differences in Israel," *Race and Society*, 10:1-10.

5. R. M. Mason, *Patterns of Dominance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 10.

6. For example, Mary Ellen Goodman, *Race Awareness in Young Children* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1952). In a similar way, Indian children on an island in the South Pacific show these feelings of inferiority in their preference for white over black dolls. See J. H. Stafford, Wilda Galloway, and Joanne Nixon, "Racial and Cultural Identification in Indian Children," *Phylon*, 34(December, 1973):368-377.

7. J. H. Stafford, "The Doll Technique: A Measure of Racial Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Social Issues*, 28(1972):522-527. For another indication of changed intragroup attitudes in this case a group of black college students who placed a higher value on "black Protestants" than on "white Protestants," see Craig K. Polite, Raymond C. Williams, and J. H. Stafford, "Ethnic Group Identification and Differentiation," *Journal of Social Issues*, 30(1974):149-150.

man and Nahirny report that there is a tendency among foreign languages in the United States to rate French as the more honored foreign languages, and to rate Spanish as the less honored, if other than one of these three, in a group of languages.<sup>8</sup>

Self-hatred—or some milder variant of this attitude—exists in enough how many ethnic group members feel to cause serious problems. There is certainly enough variability in this feeling to interact with those factors or conditions that give rise to cleavages among members of ethnic group members toward their peers. Studies to this problem have emphasized the various sources of factionalism that have caused disunity in some ethnic groups. These sources of cleavage will now be discussed.

### **Home-Country Factionalism and Immigrant Disunity**

The unity that one might expect in an ethnic group is often undermined by the privilege they share as immigrants in another country. This is especially true by the importation of home-country factional feelings into the new situation. Various Asian groups in Africa—Indians, Chinese, and others—occupied a precarious middle position of being disliked by both the natives and the European colonizers. However, as pointed out in writing about Indians in Africa, there is a sense of commonality in the Indian community that reflects a microcosm of Indian society, such that "common victimization and stigmatization are enough to draw people together."<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the contention that the following World War I of the nation of Yugoslavia was a result of disunity between Croatian-Americans who favored union with Serbia and those who advocated an independent Croatia was largely the effect of home-country factionalism on immigrant disunity. This can best be seen at its extreme, when the country of

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Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School of Language Loyalty," in Joshua A. Fishman, et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 1966), pp. 92-136.

Van der Berghe, "Asians in East and South Africa," in van der Berghe, *Immigrant Disunity* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 276-303.

George J. Prpic, "The Croatian Immigrants in Pittsburgh," in John H. Coatsworth, *The Immigrant Experience in Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1966), pp. 100-110.



organizations had the major influence in the past and a chance to younger Japanese Americans that they saw as a place at which the principal attraction is a plentiful supply of soda water.<sup>15</sup>

A more familiar case in the United States is that of Italian-Americans who have tended to be acutely aware of the differences between themselves and others. At the broadest level, there is a sharp cleavage between North Italians, who have made between themselves, with their middle-class educated bearers of the "classic" Italian civilization, and South Italians, whom they see as ignorant peasantry.<sup>16</sup> This cleavage goes much further than this, however. Italian-Americans are characterized by the notion of *campanilismo*, the view of the world as it goes into a world of strangers when he moves outside the sound of the church bell of his home village.<sup>17</sup> Although these distinctions are now "hardly more than a memory among younger generations,"<sup>18</sup> they persisted long enough, in Lopreato's view, to retard development among Italian-Americans of as much political and social mobility as they have expected in places like New York City, where they have represented so large a part of the population.<sup>19</sup>

An interesting contrast can also be found in the degree of regionalism and local origins held by white and black southerners who have moved to northern American cities. White southerners—often differentiated "hillbilly" element by the native northerners—often have differentiated associations with fellow Kentuckians, Virginians, and so on. Blacks who move to northern cities show far less territorial loyalty to their state of origin; rather, their origin is seen as more of a hindrance.

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15. H. L. Kitano, *Japanese-Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 94.

16. The North vs. South Italian cleavage was, for example, strikingly demonstrated in the Greenwich Village area during the 1920s. Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

17. Joseph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1963), p. 15.

18. Glazer and Moynihan similarly indicate a lack of political power and social mobility, but they attribute this political retardation to a slightly different cause, as opposed to Irish, to rise rapidly from lower to middle class status. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

19. M. K. K. *White Southerners* (New York: Random House, 1963).

as is the "soul" life style that tends to prevail in the north and south.<sup>21</sup> Thus is laid the basis of a unified "black" identity, but the inhibiting effects of differentiated regions cannot be ignored. Another interesting contrast has been suggested between the orientations of Italian-Americans and black Americans. Williams described a set of "communicative devices" employed by a group on Chicago's West Side that indicate a new kind of community: a language and a personal style that are characteristic of a particular neighborhood without much connection to traditional Italian or Italian-American communities.<sup>22</sup> Blacks are more cosmopolitan in their life styles, employing a language of culture understood by almost any other black in the country. Their sensitivity to fads and fashions in the wider community is the same way, Williams has commented on the tendency of blacks to identify themselves with a general "black community" beyond its local community limits. A symptom of this cosmopolitanism is the tendency, reported by Williams, for blacks to prefer a visiting team of black players over a hometown team with white players. Williams frequently pointed out, "black community" in the United States has weaknesses, the provincialisms that have retarded the development of other groups do not seem a major problem in the black community.

## Free of Acculturation

One of the more universal sources of cleavage within the black community is from the differences in the degree of acculturation. The black community is free of the life styles of the dominant groups. The

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cosmopolitanism of the black community in Washington, D.C. (Hannerz, *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community* (University Press, 1969).

W. D. Suttles, *The Social Order of the Slum* (Chicago: University Press, 1969).

For a similar analysis, see Hannerz, *Soulside*.

John M. Williams, Jr., *Strangers Next Door* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967). There may be a parallel sense of "white community" among sports fans. For example, in the reluctance of white fans to support black-dominated teams. In 1966, a decision was made to reduce the number of black players on the National Basketball Association, the head coach of the team was quoted as saying, "We are simply not interested in paying to see an all Black team and we cannot support it." Harry Edwards, *The Sociology of Sports* (Harvard University Press, 1964).

c members tend to be ashamed of the "primitive" and "uncultured" peers. Blacks in the cotton-mill town of Kalamazoo are described as being divided fundamentally between the "unrespectable," respectability being defined in middle-class white standards.<sup>25</sup> Members of an outcast group, the *chinos*, who are more acculturated to middle-class Japanese standards, are embarrassed by the ways of their more traditional peers.<sup>26</sup> Middle-class Mexican-Americans tend to hold the same stereotypes of lower-class Mexicans that are held by Anglo-Americans.<sup>27</sup>

Members of ethnic groups with more positive attitudes toward their life styles reserve some of their bitterest epithets for those who are seen as adopting dominant group ways of life to be gained for themselves. Black loyalists castigate "sell-outs" among them; American Indians, who have adapted to white society, are referred to as "Uncle Tomahawks." Similar expressions of derision are sometimes found. For example, an American referred to as an Oreo cookie—black on the outside, white on the inside, or, early, the ardently Chinese among Chinese-Americans referred to more acculturated kinsmen as bananas—yellow on the outside, white on the inside. The author has likewise heard some Indians referred to as "apples" in their attitudes referred to as apples.

The ethnic group that is aggressively seeking improvement is especially subject to this sort of cleavage. American Jews are a good example. According to a common interpretation of Jewish history in America, Jewish immigrants were forced into assimilation, but maintained high ambitions for an improved status for the next generation, especially through the route of better education.<sup>28</sup>

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W. G. Lewis, *The Blackways of Kent* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

George DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, *Japan's Invisible Race* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

Frederic G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," *Daedalus*, 90(1961):286-299.

Robert C. Day, "The Emergence of Activism as a Social Movement among Native Americans," in A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (eds.), *Native Americans Today* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 514.

Herberg refers to the

proliferation

of

the extent that the rich children tended to acquire wealth at the expense of getting a reputation for being overly ambitious. The third generation, hoping to dispel this bad reputation by imitating the "tasteful" life style of their Gentile friends, had already "made it" in prestige terms.<sup>30</sup> Part of the making it consisted in a status-conscious move from a Jewish ghetto to a suburb where Jews live an acculturated life style and de-emphasize their "Jewishness," thus enabling them to gain acceptance and acceptance by Gentiles. The difficulties in this tactic of assimilation are apparent in the much accelerated exodus of Jewish families following World War II. In a study of the midwestern Jewish community, Ringer found a pattern of rejection of the recent immigrants who had been established in the community for decades. There were several related reasons for this rejection of the new Jewish residents. One was that the old-timers were from the north while the newcomers were from southern and eastern Europe, a notion that mirrored the familiar prejudice of native Americans against the "old immigration" from northern and western Europe. Another was that the newcomers, city bred and perhaps new to affluence, had life styles that were more those of the urbanite and not those of the suburb. Of a more mellowed suburban style (some of "those who were described as wearing scanty or flashy clothing more appropriate to Philadelphia than to "Lakeville") Finally there was the objection to the new Jews moving in,<sup>33</sup> the fear being that the community would lose its "Jewish" community, with attendant loss of prestige and status in an ethnically integrated community. All of these objections point to a single point: the old timers' fear of losing the delicate balance of status acceptance by Gentiles built up over a long period.

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30 R. Kramer and Seymour Leventman, *Children of the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

31 R. B. Ringer, *The Edge of Friendliness* (New York: Basic Books, 1961).  
32 R. B. Glazer, *American Judaism*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). It seems to be one symptom of anxiety about changes in community life to estimate the rapidity of the change that is taking place. Thus, most of the Philadelphia overestimated the number of blacks on the force, perhaps a symptom of anxiety. William M. Kephart, "Negro Visibility," *American Journal of Sociology* (August, 1954) 462-467. It might be suggested, by extension, that the Philadelphia community overestimated the degree of this Jewish influx and hence

living in the community. The negative feelings toward the new arrivals can probably be evoked for remembering or imagining their feelings toward some situation that has kept them from some personal triumph. The rebuff of one's unacculturated ethnic peers may work in the reverse feeling against the ethnic "traitors" who have sold out the collective interest for their private interests.

## **INSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCY**

Institutions are those established procedures in a community that provide socially approved mechanisms for the satisfaction of human needs. Familiar examples are the institutions of the family, economy, religion, government, recreation, medical care, etc. Since these areas represent vital human needs, we can assume that nearly all most human beings of whatever ethnic group have access to a set of institutional mechanisms in each of these areas. In this conception, *community* represents the level of social organization in which all the basic institutions are maintained for the satisfaction of the needs of its members. Social units such as military garrisons or colleges are not communities because there is at least one area of human need being provided by that unit.

Do ethnic groups constitute communities in this sense? The answer to this question because there is considerable variation among ethnic groups. On the one hand, there are ethnic groups characterized by what Breton calls *institutional completeness*.

Institutional completeness would be at its extreme when an ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of other social units for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance. In contemporary North American cities very few, if any, communities showing full institutional completeness can be identified.

Questioning the validity of Breton's "few if any" point at the lack of institutional completeness, it can still be observed, as Breton does, that

bility in the degree to which different ethnic groups achieve "institutional completeness." In analyzing this, there would be two major strategies. One strategy would be to follow the procedure of taking a sample of members of the group in Montreal and obtaining data to show which areas are "high" or "low" in overall institutional self-sufficiency. This is illustrated by the kind of analysis immediately following. There are not only two institutional areas here; however, many more could be treated in this fashion. From these two areas we can make generalizations we can about the conditions that affect ethnic self-sufficiency.

## Marriage

Marriage as a social institution deals with the regulation of the attendant concomitants of cohabitation of members of an ethnic group would be "institutionally complete" in that the group was able to provide spouses or other sexual partners drawn exclusively from other members of the group. Most ethnic groups show a strong preference for *endogamy*—marriage within one's ethnic group—and more or less resistance to marriage with outsiders. American Jews are an example of an ethnic group with a deep fear for "Jewish survival" arising from intermarriage with Gentiles. The troubling thought to many is, How can the next generation be thoroughly Jewish in identity if one parent is Jewish? More disturbing still, How much Jewish identity is passed on by "half Jewish" parents to *their* children?<sup>3</sup> The ethnic situations that usually capture the attention of scholars are, immigration movements in which the newcomers are dominant over the native population—the pioneer phase—and other sexual relations to ethnically endogenous groups. This is to be a serious problem. Ethnic migrations of either type are adventurous affairs, at least in the pioneer phases of settlement, to attract primarily males. As a result, there has

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<sup>3</sup> See, *America's Jews*, chap. 6.

anced sex ratio (proportion of males to females).<sup>36</sup> The influence on the sexual relations of ethnics has tended to be different for colonizing peoples and for subordinate immigrants. Colonists have, by definition, established a relation of dominance with native peoples of the colony, and the shortage of women for them has tended to be solved by the colonial men's sexual relations with native women, a situation that native men have tried to prevent.<sup>37</sup> Thus, a practice that is a "solution" for the colonizers becomes a problem for the colonized: native men's lack of access to women of their own ethnic kind who would marry or concubinage with colonizing men.

The shortage of women in frontier colonizing situations, like racial miscegenation, other factors influence the degree to which interbreeding is carried out. For instance, the rate of interracial sexual contact between European colonizers and native women (and slave women) was much higher in Central America than in North America.<sup>38</sup> The difference lies partly in the different patterns in the two areas: the English in North America were more often agriculturalists and more often with wives, while the Spanish and Portuguese, who dominated South and Central America, were more often soldiers, traders, miners, and other adventurers. But, as we have seen, there may have been another factor at work: the traditional view of the English family as compared with that of the Iberian families. English husbands tended to have mistresses, a practice

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<sup>36</sup> The very high ratio of males to females in the Japanese immigration of the early part of this century, see Petersen, *Japanese Americans*, p. 196. In the case of immigrants to the United States at about the same time, it is still higher: 229 male for every 100 female immigrants. Ernest Rubin, "The Japanese Immigrant to the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 367(1966):17.

<sup>37</sup> The same practice has, of course, been responsible for the production of mixed ethnic ancestry: the Metis children of European and native Indian parents in the population of Malaysia (descendants of Malay natives and Chinese immigrants), the "colored" population of South Africa, etc.

<sup>38</sup> Rivers thus indicated that even today "intermarriage is not regarded as a disgrace in Central America. Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Race, Color, and Class in Central America," *American Anthropologist*, 69(1967) 542-559.

<sup>39</sup> N. Degler, *Neither Black Nor White* (New York: Macmillan, 1951).

ves accustomed to patriarchal dominance and a double standard of extramarital involvement for men but not for women. The wife, by contrast, was much more powerful if not in an official relation. In the American South, lower-class white women would "raise hell" if she knew or suspected a husband's involvement, especially with a black woman. It may be that marriage and/or sexual relations between Europeans and Indians were largely confined to: (a) large southern plantations where the upper-class position could withstand the pressure of such relations, and their wives, and (b) the trappers and traders of the frontier stage, when there was much miscegenation between European and Indian women, as well as other kinds of "lawless" relations. The first group of women arrived in large numbers was the West country women (accurately, domesticated).

None of subordinate immigrant groups were not, of course, to solve their woman shortage by sexual relations with native indigenous groups. An occasional Italian-American might hope to marry an "American" girl, but the odds were against it. The social standing was favorable.<sup>40</sup> But a typical male of the frontier might realistically hope for one of the following:

He might hope to obtain a wife from his own ethnic group, whom he had his eye on before he left or who could be reached through intermediaries in the home country. In a study of Canada, Kosa shows that this tactic could work well if the immigrant had good contacts with friends and relatives in Hungary, and enough wealth or other social standing to be attractive to a woman who might be willing to emigrate if she could obtain a husband in Canada.<sup>41</sup> The impecunious and those isolated from contacts in the country of origin—and emigration may have been the only hope of just these kinds of persons—were relatively few. The spouses from back home. Another condition inhibited the hostility of the host country to the importation of women under such circumstances. The publicity in the United States

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Reato, *Italian Americans*, p. 123.

Kosa, *Land of Choice: the Hungarians in Canada* (Toronto, 1957).



vice by Japanese men of bringing in "picture brides" found for them by agents in Japan—was a factor in the hope of further Japanese immigration.<sup>42</sup> The immigration of women must have similarly frustrated the hope of many men of northern or eastern European origin of bringing bride from their country.

Unable to develop more permanent sexual liaisons with their own ethnic group, the immigrant man in such situations turned to sexual contacts to the few women of his ethnic group or to prostitutes. The prevalence, for example, of Japanese prostitution on the West Coast of the United States when first-generation Japanese immigrants predominated can be explained in terms of the inability of these men to import wives from Japan. As a result, there was an extremely high ratio of males to females among Japanese immigrants in America.<sup>43</sup> This situation must have been all the more true in the same area in light of Lyman's observation that Japanese men were much more likely than the Chinese to "sojourn" rather than making their temporary residences in an "overseas" locality.

## Education

The schooling of ethnic group members is often as important an issue within an ethnic group as it is between the group and the wider society. The fact is understandable when so much people depend on their schools to build the knowledge and skills prized in that society. Ethnic groups may have their own educational practices that are somewhat at odds with the prevailing practices of the dominant society. As we noted in an earlier discussion of religious groups such as the Hutterites, the question of who educates the children—the Hutterites themselves or educational agents of the dominant society—may become a major issue between the ethnic group and the dominant society. Educational autonomy for ethnic groups is often strongly demanded, and frequently resisted. The willingness

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<sup>42</sup> Hansen, *Japanese-Americans*, pp. 43, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Hansen, *Japanese-Americans*, p. 196.

<sup>44</sup> Ford M. Lyman, "Contrasts in the Community Organization of Ethnic Groups in North America," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 1964, 1, 1, 1-12.

s to encourage or inhibit ethnic education, and the ethnic groups to maintain an ethnically exclusive instructional system, however, considerable variability, however.

The differential tolerance for ethnic educational autonomy of ethnic groups in a society is one such area of variability. Ethnic group members themselves or of people in the society that there is relative indifference to the inclusion of self-fledged "citizens" of the country, there may be a reluctance to the education of ethnic group children to the extent of these residents in such southeast Asian countries as Malaysia furnish good examples of such attitudes.<sup>45</sup> Better "citizen" attitude of nonpermanent residence outside China, there has been a tendency for Chinese children to attend exclusively Chinese schools. Sometimes, however, the feeling toward ethnic group members becomes more negative. A policy toward ethnic education is abandoned. Thailand illustrates this situation. Although the policy toward exclusively Chinese education for Chinese children in the case in Malaysia and Indonesia, the long traditions of Thai and Chinese peoples asserted itself after a concerted attack on the ethnically Chinese character of the schools. In the United States, with its ideology of assimilation of members as citizens, there was never any serious opposition to Chinese schools in American Chinatowns, and this had the same corrosive effects on Chinese ethnic education for virtually all other immigrant ethnic groups.<sup>46</sup>

Another area of variability is the degree to which ethnic groups are determined to maintain an ethnically exclusive school system. From the experience of ethnic groups in the United States, it is clear that the various compromises that ethnic groups have had to accept to maintain an ethnic education for their children are a result of assimilating expectations in the wider society. One p

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Frederic Freedman, "The Chinese in Southeast Asia," in Andrew Nathan, *China in World Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967); William H. Williams, *The Future of the Overseas Chinese in South East Asia* (New York: New York University Press, 1966).

W. F. M. Fong, "Assimilation of Chinese in America: Changes in Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology* 71 (November 1965): 100-11.

has been to allow ethnic groups to maintain ethnic schools at their own expense, providing that (a) they contribute to support the public schools, and (b) they meet certain standards in such matters as curriculum and standards of teachers that are set by government agencies. The system of parochial education sponsored by American Catholics is an instance of an attempt to maintain this kind of education. A good example of some of the tensions that can develop when this pattern is followed. A comparison of Catholic, Protestant, and other religious groupings will indicate some of the considerations that have led to the way ethnically self-sufficient education has worked in the United States.

In this country, the term *parochial education* is usually used to refer to a very extensive system of Catholic schools at all levels from kindergarten to college. The church hierarchy has often been criticized, and rightly so, of the secularizing or Protestantizing tendencies of the country's public schools. The development of Catholic education in New York City illustrates the national pattern.<sup>47</sup> Early in the nineteenth century in New York, as elsewhere, was thought to be a church's duty to provide education for its own purposes. This was so much the case that, in 1807, Catholics established a Free School Society to provide education for poor children who were not members of or not provided for by the church. As the idea of nondenominational public education gained acceptance in the state of New York, public money was allocated to the Free School Society; and, as the society (soon renamed the Free School Society) was dominated by Protestants, the Catholics demanded to establish their own schools and to make the same demands for the support of these schools. A period of controversy followed, culminating, in 1842, in the passage of a law relating the familiar principle of separation of church and state to the state was forbidden to dispense public funds for sectarian schools. From this point, the church developed its own system of education at its own expense. With the more recent advances in public education, the financial plight of Catholics, requiring

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The following discussion of parochial education in New York City is taken from *Beyond the Me'ting Pot*.

systems if they choose to send the rich children to private schools. They have been brought forcibly to the attention of the American public. Efforts have been tried to provide aid without violating the principle of religious freedom. Without such assistance, Catholic parochial schools at the elementary and secondary levels have flourished in most parts of the country. In New York City, for example, approximately one-third of the total enrollment is in Catholic schools.<sup>48</sup> In the area of higher education, however, in nationality groups, the church has been less successful. There are few parochial schools. In spite of the rather large number of colleges and universities—Fordham, Loyola, Notre Dame, etc.—the enrollment is very small compared with the total number of students in higher education.<sup>49</sup> Providing educational facilities for the Mexican-American population has also proved to be a difficult task. Immigrants from Mexico brought with them some of the educational traditions of Mexico, or at least an unfamiliarity with the American system of education and with the need for financial support for education. The church has made vigorous efforts, most notably in the Southwest, to establish parochial schools among Mexican-Americans, but it has met with the felt pressure of Protestant competition. Only a small portion of Mexican-Americans living in the Southwest are enrolled in parochial schools, however.<sup>50</sup>

Parochial education for Jewish Americans has tended to be less well developed. Students of the Jewish experience in America have been influenced by the tendency of Jews to value secular learning as well as religious learning that was traditionally valued. Jewish immigrants came to America for making available at last such civic amenities as access to public education, and they were thus enthralled to the public schools.<sup>51</sup> Any tendency toward parochialism, if it were to develop, would, it was feared, indicate some degree of disaffection with the public schools.

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W. Moore and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, p. 280.

Estimated that, in 1965, only about one-third of American Catholics were enrolled in Catholic colleges. James W. Trent, *Catholics in College* (Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 45.

W. Moore, *Mexican-Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 62-65. The Protestant-Catholic competition among Mexican-Americans is discussed in R. H. Brown, *The Mexican Americans of South Texas* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), pp. 62-65.

See, e.g., *America's Jews*, pp. 19, 20.

to the country that had provided these opportunities. There were only about one thousand Jewish students in parochial schools. By 1935, parochial enrollment still represented a small fraction of school attendance by Jewish children.<sup>52</sup> There has been something of a resurgence of Jewish parochial education. In 1953, some 6 percent of Jewish children attended such schools. The total enrollment was sixty thousand.<sup>53</sup> The new emphasis on Jewish education is partly the result of the influx of Jewish immigrants into the United States following the Jewish displacement after World War II. (The Orthodox Jews have always been strong supporters of parochial schools.) The upsurge may also be due to an increased interest in Jewish education as a matter of national identity, as we suggested in Chapter 1. The degree of interest increases with the increasing level of education involved, however. It is estimated that some 70 percent of children eight to twelve years of age are receiving some kind of Jewish education (most of it in parochial schools), but only 16 percent of those between sixteen and twenty are receiving a Jewish education.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps the greatest achievement that Jewish education has accomplished is winning their children willingly to the identity-establishing ceremonies of Bar Mitzvah (male) or Bas Mitzvah (female) ceremony at about the age of thirteen. At the college level, the "Jewish" college or university is virtually nonexistent. There are Yeshivas, which provide special religious training, and some institutions, such as City College of New York, which are, in effect, "secular Jewish" institutions by virtue of the high percentage of Jews in their student bodies and faculties.<sup>55</sup> Among Protestant Americans, the interest in parochial education is the very nearly the reverse of that of Catholic and Jewish Americans, particularly in terms of the level of education. Parochial education at the elementary and secondary levels has never really taken root among Protestant Americans (except for certain "radical" sects such as the

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Abraham Glazer, *American Judaism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 109, 110.

Glazer, *American Judaism*, p. 173.

In the case of City College, the recently instituted "open admissions" policy, as recent news accounts, drastically altered the nature of the college's Jewish intellectual elite.

y because the numerical predominance in the public schools that Protestant children will not be seduced by secular influences. Higher education is a somewhat different story. There have been denominationally sponsored colleges established by every Protestant denomination and in all parts of the country. It is to be expected that the confidence of Protestant parents in the loyalty of their children to the faith of their fathers is somewhat greater. They consider sending these children away to college an affront to the confidence of non-Protestants or, worse, of non-Christians. They regard "godless" collegiate types as the hippie and the free-lance. Denominational colleges may accordingly thrive on the confidence that will be able to provide, *in loco parentis*, the need for the traditional religious affiliation.

The discussion above has been primarily about full-time education. It appears, however, that all ethnic groups develop ambitious programs for the ethnic education of their children in the United States, in line with the "triple melting pot" theory. Chapter 1, it appears that ethnicity based on national origin is a point where we should not expect to find much parallelism on national origin. Instead, such ethnic groups develop their own alternatives as the following.

First, an ethnic group may sponsor "afternoon schools" or vacation schools to supplement the nonethnic education received in the public schools on weekdays. For example, the Yiddish schools for the religious education of Jewish children were the mainstays of Jewish education in the United States. Japanese language schools for after-hours education in Japanese are common in this ethnic group. A long-time student of Japanese, Kitano, remarks that few of his Nisei (second-generation) students developed any lasting understanding of Japanese language in these schools.<sup>57</sup> However, Kitano points out, these schools have been noted for other ethnically supplementary functions that they provided a group of peer associates with whom they feel more identity than he could with the children of the majority.

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...e, *America's Jews*, pp. 162-165.

d public schools. Highly acculturated suburban Jews are often described as feeling more "at home" or easygoing, a result that may be highly desirable if the aim is to attract especially spouses from among one's own ethnic group. Parents served a useful "baby sitting" function for parents. For parents, especially those self-employed parents with long working hours, it may be highly functional economically to have children at home for two or so more hours after school. Second, ethnic group members may successfully demand that their ethnic history or present situation be included in the curriculum of the public schools. At the very least, parents and students may request that school textbooks and other instructional materials not foster self-hatred among their own children by depicting their ethnic group in unfavorable lights. Thus, blacks have demanded a "fair" presentation of the role of Negroes in southern Reconstruction; American Indians have urged a re-evaluation of their ancestors who were too often shown as victims of the "civilization" of the West. At another level, ethnic groups have demanded, with little success, more bilingual schools in areas of heavy Mexican-American concentration, more attention to the study of the Spanish language and tradition in the curriculum. It is often understood that such revolutions in public education are dependent on the ability of the locally dominant ethnic group to gain a measure of "community control" of the schools. The New York City school crisis of 1968-1969 centered around the demands of ghetto areas to gain this kind of capacity to give more control to the educational program in their communities. It is not surprising that the inability of American Indians to secure such control for their children that will emphasize Indian cultural traditions is a major ethnic lack of community control in the reservation situation. Public schools, along with other institutional services, are largely controlled by the paternal white government, with the result that ethnic groups are often denied such gifts.<sup>60</sup>

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er, *The Edge of Friendliness*

Price R. Berube and Marilyn Gittell (eds.), *Confrontation at Oyster Bay: The New York School Strikes of 1968* (New York: Praeger, 1969).

Finally, and especially at the level of higher education, efforts to institute ethnic studies programs as optional for ethnic group members or interested outsiders who may want information about the group. The black studies programs have become common in colleges and universities throughout the country; they are the most prominent example. However, one finds ethnic studies programs being established at institutions wherever there is a concentration of members of some ethnic group: Mexican-American studies at UCLA and the University of New Mexico, Scandinavian studies at the University of Minnesota and the University of Wisconsin, and so on. To Greeley, the increasing demand for such ethnic studies programs is evidence of a new "tribalism" that he sees emerging in the United States. He notes, however, that few ethnic group members or students have any strong involvement in the tedium of learning a *language* that has been allowed to lapse during a period of ethnic indifference.

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<sup>51</sup>For an evaluation of an ethnic studies program for Mexican-Americans, see Rochin, "The Short and Turbulent Life of Chicano Studies: A Preliminary Report on Programs and Problems," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53(March, 1972).

<sup>52</sup>Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* pp. 148-152.



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HNIC  
LATIONS

# OVERVIEW

In the first part of this book, we concentrated on the *groups* in several relevant sociological dimensions. In this part, we draw our attention to the matter of ethnic *relations*, the nature and quality of the relationship between members of several ethnic groups who live in the same social environment.

The key to the analysis in this part is found in the concepts of *social interaction* and *social relationship* as defined by Max Weber's definitions. According to Weber, human actions are (or are not) therefore interactive) when the behavior of a person is "oriented in its course" toward the behavior of other people.<sup>1</sup> A left hand slap to the cheek of an opponent in a fight and a kiss to the mouth of a lover are both "social" by this definition, since both actions are "oriented" toward the other person, whether enemy or lover. A *social relationship* exists, according to Weber, when there is a high "probability" of such interaction.

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<sup>1</sup>Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated by Talcott Parsons, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 1.

act on occurring between the interactants.<sup>2</sup> Thus  
 ons among whom many friendly interactions occur  
 persons between whom recurring interactions in  
 s to do harm.  
 say that human behavior is "oriented" to the beh  
 se the problem of the near-infinite complexity of human  
 a man works hard at a job in anticipation that the  
 come and maybe earn the appreciation of his emp  
 perhaps) even the respect of future generations. In me  
 "other" individuals whose responding behavior is  
 sent a great variety of possible respondents, which  
 g that the *motives* of human social behavior are g  
 plex. It is in the context of this immense complexity  
 together with other social scientists—and, indeed  
 y day of his or her life—must attempt somehow to  
 atively, to make predictions about how persons  
 vior to other persons in different social situations.  
 e starting point for an analysis of social relationships  
 een *interpersonal* and *intergroup* levels of social  
 an's interaction or relationship with her husband,  
 ds, employers, employees, etc., refers to the *interpe*  
*icipation* as a member of a group of employees, of  
 omen devoted to women's liberation, of a group of  
 ren, etc. refers to the *intergroup* dimension of so  
 cially where that participation is "oriented" to the  
 es of such collective entities as management, male co  
 ol system. Of course the point has often been made  
 of so-called intergroup behavior can actually be re  
 erpersonal relations: that, for example, what are  
 ons are nothing more than the summation of ma  
 ions in which, for example, a white person either  
 ns that imply equality of status with a black perso  
 ny insist, then, that human behavior has an *intergr*  
 that is emphasized in this book, as it is in every o  
 se on ethnic relations? An explanation of this insister  
 sis of the nature of "participation" in group activi

num of *identification* (of the kind discussed in Chapter 2) group, a person is likely to feel that his or her interests and individual members of other ethnic groups are shared with fellow ethnic group members. Thus, individuals may feel (and sometimes are forcibly made to feel) that they represent "the position" of their race and that their actions in the intergroup context reflect the intergroup *position* of their group when dealing with members of the other race. This "position" is a collective definition of whites as people who must bear a "burden" relative to "primitive" people, or the negative relation implied in a "white supremacy" position. The racial "position" may be a "black is beautiful" position in the presence of whites or, alternatively, a kind of hostility toward whites expressed by the adoption of a "black power" position.<sup>3</sup>

The poet's insight that "no man is an island" is, of course, true to the extent that there are all degrees of personal connection or isolation from one's ethnic group. But the insights that are often such identities, such feelings of shared fate, are social forces designed to engender loyalty in one's group toward some conception of the collective position of the group. Focusing on the influence of these "collective positions" within the orbit of the genius (some think an evil genius) emphasizes group constraints on individual behavior.

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I use here of the term *position* to indicate any stance that an ethnic group is likely to adopt when dealing with other ethnic group members in the context of Blumer's view of race prejudice as a "group position" emphasizing the role of other groups that involve a sense of status superiority imposed on individual representatives. It is just as possible, from the present perspective, for a particular ethnic group to be one of treating other ethnic groups as superiors, or (perhaps) as "separate but equals." Otherwise the position here entertained is identical with Blumer's view that prejudice is not by individual feelings but by a "collective process" by which a group defines itself in relation to other ethnic groups. Herbert Blumer, "Race and Group Position," *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1(Spring, 1958): 3-4. Whether this constraint is exercised by "external" sanctions such as the punishment of one who violates the group position by being a "nigger" or whether the constraint is exercised by the internalization of prejudices learned in the social milieu is not at issue here. In either case the group position is reinforced perhaps by other ethnic groups as the dominant group.



some kind of social planning by officially powerful people; the efforts of the United States government, through civil rights legislation, to lessen the subordination of minority groups; or the policy of South Africa designed to enforce greater social equality between peoples of European and native origins. Other changes may come "spontaneously" as the result of broad social changes that either planned or have unplanned consequences for ethnic relations. Urbanization and industrialization, processes that are often planned social developments, may profoundly affect ethnic relations in ways not intended or even in ways actively resisted by people. We will also be given to *social movements* undertaken by members of ethnic group members, wherein attempts are made to change the status quo—this pressure taking all forms from gentle "moral suasion" to revolution—to change the positioning of ethnic groups relative to one another. In Chapter 7 we shall have occasion again to note the tension between distance and stratification as fundamental dimensions in ethnic relations, observing that such changes, whether spontaneous or the result of social movements, may involve either in terms of greater or lesser distance between groups or greater or lesser amounts of inequality of power between

# CHAPTER 4

## ETHNIC DISTANCE

### DISTANCE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

When individual persons make inventories of their relationships, they are likely to think of those persons whom they know, those who are acquaintances, and those who are simply strangers. Similarly, members of various ethnic groups inhabiting the same area (e.g., a country, a community, a college campus) may be distinguished by degree of acquaintance or lack of acquaintance with members of other ethnic groups. To illustrate one extreme, it has been observed that many whites in the state of Oklahoma are almost totally ignorant of the existence of a thriving American Indian community in that state.<sup>1</sup> To understand the element of distance between members of different ethnic groups, we need a closer focus on some of the meanings of intimate human relations.

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<sup>1</sup>Albert L. Wahrhaftig and Robert K. Thomas, "Renaissance and Repression: The Cherokee," *Trans-action*, 6(February, 1969):42-48

## Acquaintances and Strangers

Cooley's concept of the *primary group* is useful in suggesting those relationships in which distance is minimized, such as the family, the neighborhood, and friendship groups, and by intensive feelings of emotional involvement on the part of the members; to be close to someone is to care about that person; to be distant (not necessarily but often in a sexual sense) is an indication of indifference. We might be tempted to characterize distant relationships as involving the feeling of hatred between persons. As Simmel especially has noted, intense love and hatred are both characteristic of an intimate relationship.<sup>3</sup> It is probably more accurate to characterize distant relationships as those involving indifference. For instance, the ordinary person will experience the death of a loved one but only mild curiosity at the obituary reported in the newspaper obituary column. Distant relations may come very close to being "loveless" relations of two or more ethnic groups. In the United States, Blacks and Chicanos have recently shown a great deal of indifference to one another by virtue of their common victimization in America. On the other hand, relations between ethnic groups may be characterized by a state of almost total indifference to the other. The story of a king of a primitive tribe who demonstrated to his subjects the efficiency of a new rifle by firing at a distant target and then exclaimed that the king had shot an "unfortunate" and the king coolly replied, "It is only a washerman."<sup>5</sup> Similar indifference makes it easier for Europeans to carry on warfare against non-Europeans who were seen not as persons but as "only an enemy."

A second feature of social relationships within primary groups is that our analysis of ethnic relations is the observation

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3. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Scribner's, 1909), p. 10; Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff [and] *The Web of Group Life*, ed. by Richard Bendix (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 45-48.

4. Walter D. Davidson and Charles M. Gaitz, "Ethnic Attitudes as a Basis for Segregation in a Southwestern Metropolis," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53(1972), p. 10.

5. E. E. Schattschneider, *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 10.



ships are characterized by the members' extensive disclosure of themselves to one another.<sup>6</sup> More distant relationships are characterized by the interactants' rather narrow range of disclosure to each other. Indeed, such interaction is often based on general stereotypes, such as when "the student" confronts the professor on the basis of some general assumptions about the nature of students and professors. Members of many ethnic groups complain of being stereotyped as "the Jew" or "the black boy" rather than as individuals. Thus the few Jewish families in a small town are asked to present "the Jewish viewpoint" on some issue, and Gentiles to present "the Jewish viewpoint" on some other issue.<sup>7</sup> It has been said that what ethnic groups want and deserve is the "right to have scoundrels among us," the right, that is, that members be judged for what they are as individuals rather than on the basis of negative stereotypes about how people of their category behave. The prevalence of stereotyped treatment of members of ethnic groups is a prominent feature of social distance as applied to ethnic groups. This stereotyping is often referred to as prejudice. *Social distance* and *social distance* will be used interchangeably in this analysis.

## Maintaining Distance

We turn now to an analysis of some of the reasons why people want to get close to members of some ethnic groups and why others resist. Beginning primarily with race relations in Great Britain, Barrow and I have found fundamentally different reasons for white Britons resisting

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lovers sometimes vow to keep no secrets from one another. As Simmel says in a love relationship in which "we share each other's pasts" but he often wishes that he did *not* know these things about the other. Before, Simmel (often rated as our greatest "sociologist of intimacy") says that there is a point beyond which the most intimate of relationships cannot go without endangering the relationship. Wolff, *Social Distance*, pp. 326-329.

I. Rose, "Small-Town Jews and Their Neighbors in the United States," *American Sociology* 3(December, 1961):174-191. Reprinted in Peter I. Rose, *The Jewish Problem* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 335-356.

Benedict, "The Right to Have Scoundrels," *Saturday Review* (October 1945):13.

coloured people around them.<sup>9</sup> One's sense of status  
is a fear of the unfamiliar.

**consciousness.** In Britain, as elsewhere, there  
son's status is judged by the people he associates  
ple cited by Banton is the London landlady who pre  
coloured people lest her white neighbors assume that  
only" for coloured.<sup>10</sup> Another instance of social d  
consciousness involves the idea of *contamination*  
contact is made with members of ethnic groups of in  
a caste system, with the Brahmin fear of defilemen  
e had with "untouchables," is a familiar illustration  
belief held by some Japanese that a Japanese wom  
black man would, should she later have children by  
ue to have black children, since her womb has b  
black man.<sup>11</sup>

the correlation between social-distance tendencies  
and the imputed status of that group is one of the  
sive research using so-called social-distance scale  
research instrument, subjects are given a list of p  
groups and asked about their willingness to asso  
of intimacy (e.g., common residence in the same c  
neighborhood, as coworkers, as marriage partne  
each of the listed groups. In a wide variety of co  
period of time, most Americans have expressed  
ate association with such higher status ethnic g  
h, or Canadians; and a distaste for association wi  
or Koreans even though, in many cases, there h

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ei Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), ch  
coloured is used to refer to all darker skinned people and not  
on, *Race Relations*, p. 382.

shi Wagatsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan,"  
432

Journal *Sociology and Social Research* frequently publishes a  
e. For a fairly recent article that refers to much earlier research,  
Comparing Racial Distance in Ethiopia, South Africa, and the United  
*Research*. 52(1968):149-156.

nence with the people about whom preferences are only a general notion about the high or low status. One should postulate a general human tendency to would maximize status, one might logically predict that ethnic groups of lower status would show preference for persons from ethnic groups of higher status rather than their own ethnic group. There are some indications of this in the observation, for example, of the tradition of black men for a marriage partner of lighter skin color than that of a white person.<sup>13</sup> The status advantage accruing to a black man in an interracial marriage is the most apparent example. That most racial intermarriages in the United States are between a black man and a white woman.<sup>14</sup> Examination of such intermarriages usually involve a black man of higher-class position and a white woman of lower-class position. In such marriages, each gains something in status through the marriage: *she* gains improvement in status while *he* gains the advantage of sexual association with a higher status man,<sup>15</sup> and the probability of having children lighter in skin color by encouraging his children's social mobility. The opposite—black wife, white husband—could involve no position gain for the woman, and, even though the wife were upper class, because she takes the status of her husband; there is no gain for her but could only "degrade" her position.

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Lloyd Warner, B. H. Junker, and W. A. Adams, *Color and Human Association* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

13. See the available data on male and female tendencies toward interracial marriage in George S. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Marriage* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 500–502.

14. As remarked above on the Japanese belief in the contaminating effect of black skin. The other side of this is the very high value placed on whiteness in Japan. Wagatsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," pp. 40–41. The Japanese association of whiteness with beauty. To verify this, I went to a beach in Hawaii to see Haole (Caucasian) bathers trying to get white. They were sitting under palm trees or umbrellas trying to avoid tanning. For more on this, see *The Japanese and the Haoles of Honolulu* (New Haven, Conn.: College of the Holy Cross, 1971), p. 76. Wagatsuma ("The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," pp. 40–41). Many Japanese soldiers found great satisfaction in sleeping with Caucasians. That their masculinity was enhanced by sexual association with



However, the likely cost of attempting to associate with the person of lesser status is likely to be *attracted to* by virtue of his superior status is likely to be *attracted to* by the person of lesser status is not likely to be *attracted to* by the person of lesser status.<sup>19</sup>

The rule of "safety first"—of minimizing possible costs—thus become the rule for persons of lesser status. It is especially rewarding to dance with the least attractive person, at least highly likely that she will respond favorably, while the belle of the ball will be turning down many suitors. Mexican-Americans in Texas, the Japanese in Hawaii, and other groups in many other places will experience or anticipate some variation of the subtle rejection that Jews experience in the "Gentile-Jewish community experience at the hands of their neighbors."<sup>20</sup> In the case of the Japanese, the preference for whiteness is blocked by the experience of many Japanese. Caucasian girls are simply not accessible to them. In the "outcast" racial atmosphere of Hawaii, the "outcast" status of the Japanese is noticeably low.<sup>22</sup>

**of the unfamiliar.** Banton's analysis of British racial attitudes and the issue of the influence of ethnic group status on attitudes suggests another general reason for whites maintaining distance from the coloured population. This is the factor of uncertainty, the unfamiliar, a sense that "they" are different from "us."

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There are exceptions to the generalization that members of an ethnic group are not "attracted to" members of ethnic groups of higher status. A personal account of a fairly common experience. Born in a small town, he was the only black, he found that whites seemed almost eager to court his favor, perhaps to prove their personal liberality. In London, Mullard found himself in the more typical British racial situation, against the coloured population. Even in London, though, he participated in international friendship meetings in which white higher status British men on their coloured guests. Mullard quickly found, however, that acceptance. The coloured guests were expected to accept the British on these evenings in which the British "white man's burden" was made of any serious discrimination, past or present, against colored people. Mullard, *On Being Black in Britain* (Rockville, Md: Black Orpheus Press, 1971).  
E. B. Ringer, *The Edge of Friendliness* (New York: Basic Books, 1968).  
K. Matsushima, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," in *Journal of Japanese and the Haoles of Honolulu*, pp. 58-59.

knows what one of them may do in an interpersonal  
ance cited by Banton is that of the British white girl  
, consents to dance with a coloured student, perhaps  
nely unprejudiced, or perhaps because she sees the  
it" for interracial harmony.<sup>23</sup> What she may find,  
he "bit" results in a flood of invitations and the risk  
s will be degraded among her peers as she becomes  
oured students' girl," but that some of these colored  
the wrong interpretation on her action. Their sexual  
that acceptance of any bodily contact is tantamount  
l intercourse, and the hapless girl may find herself  
y misunderstanding when her dancing partner wa  
vers at her door that, from his perspective, he has  
on." The possibility of such a misunderstanding m  
both dominant and minority ethnic groups to prefer  
own kind. As long as a person stays within the well  
c custom, he knows where he stands with his fel  
a stranger, he never quite knows.

s line of explanation of social distance needs to be  
ledge that the supposed "differences" between eth  
interethnic misunderstandings likely may be exag  
or purpose. Mason notes in this connection that tra  
da was based on a "premise of inequality" betwe  
and the subordinate Hutu peoples.<sup>24</sup> Along with a  
dominance of the Tutsi was a general belief in  
ent difference between these peoples so that there  
ple, that a Hutu boy brought up as a Tutsi could es  
limitations. Mason thus notes the "desire to c  
s."<sup>25</sup> In a study of the history of the English clas  
s that the distinctive Rugby way of life of the Eng  
nineteenth century reflected the threat to the earlie  
ity" in British society posed by the American and Fr  
accounts, says Mason, for the fact that "the upper

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on, *Race Relations*, p. 379.

on, *Patterns of Dominance*, pp. 14, 15.

on, *Patterns of Dominance*, p. 19.

rian Age gloried in subjecting the r sons to rigours w  
riority to the lower bourgeoisie.”<sup>26</sup>

## SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Should be clear by now that we have been discussing  
nce in ethnic relations in a social rather than in a pr  
ion now arises whether social distance is expressed  
ation. In other words, is there any tendency of  
by different territories or pieces of “social turf”?<sup>27</sup> T  
hite supremacy in South Africa is accompanied by  
*apartheid* or racial separation. As van den Berghe no  
of natives from Europeans occurs at several levels: (1)  
policy, which requires separate facilities for eati  
s, etc., in situations where natives must come in c  
beans; (2) a *mesosegregation* level, which provi  
ds or black ghettos to which city-dwelling natives  
; and (3) a *macrosegregation* policy, which confine  
lation to certain geographic regions of the countr  
e “reserves,” or Bantustans.<sup>28</sup>

e territorial concomitant to ethnic distance can be c  
social situations. Ethnically segregated neighborh  
r large American cities. Also, instances of informal  
r in officially “mixed” situations, such as when bla  
segregated hospital or other workplace stake out piec  
orm of “their” tables in the dining room, etc.

hile it is appropriate to note this frequent coexist  
ation with social distance, we need to observe tha  
een these two aspects of ethnic relations is more  
e one-to-one correspondence. Sometimes strong

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to Mason, *Prospero's Magic* (London: Oxford University Press  
Mason, *Patterns of Dominance*, p. 19.

term *social turf* is used by Greeley to describe the persisting  
nk of a particular neighborhood as “theirs” and to treat alie  
Andrew W. Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New Yor  
2.

e L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middleto  
sity Press, 1965), pp. 119–120.

maintained between people who are in close physical contact. The distance between officers and enlisted men on the deck of a ship.<sup>29</sup> In analyzing this relationship, much of the particular type of separation or segregation being considered. When racial segregation is concerned, it has been observed that there is a greater likelihood of people of different ethnicities living in the same neighborhoods when there is a greater amount of contact between those groups. Thus, various applications of an index, which is a measure of the degree to which members of different groups are intermingled or separated, have indicated that American cities are about as racially segregated as are some European cities.<sup>30</sup> It is also a fact that residential segregation is less pronounced in rural areas and in the older, antebellum cities of the South, where a "sense of position" of whites as the superior race is more pronounced. Segregation unnecessary to maintain white supremacy was less pronounced prior to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, southern cities tended to be severe in the microsegregation and in the larger cities. Len Berghe. Although it was taken for granted that people of different races should be in physical proximity to one another, efforts were made to segregate schools, toilet and dining facilities, and seating arrangements to insure against any crossing of the color line in public places of association. While lacking legal sanction, many of these patterns persist.

The pattern of low residential segregation coexisting with close physical distance is not limited to the traditional rural American South. It is illustrated in a number of studies of other ethnic communities.<sup>32</sup> Greeley thus describes an American su-

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Len Berghe, "Distance Mechanisms of Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44(January, 1960) 155-164.

E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965); and E. Taeuber, "Residential Segregation in the Mid-Sixties," *Demography*, 3(1966) 1-10.

The distinction between "older" and "newer" southern cities in the 1960s is discussed by Leo F. Schnore and P. C. Evenson, "Segregation in Southern Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 72(July, 1966):58-67.

In addition to the cases discussed immediately below, see, for example, the discussion of integrated midwestern American suburb in Ringer, *The American Suburb*; the discussion of Japanese-Caucasian relations in the largely racialized suburb in Samuels, *The Japanese and the hao es of Honolulu*.



in which Catholics and Protestants live in about equal numbers, with or without segregation of housing. Even the local country club, with about equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants membership.<sup>33</sup> But alongside this residential integration is a segregation of the children between public and parochial schools (and no contact between students in the two types of schools, except in athletic contests, for example). Greeley observes that one can play bridge for years and never sit with a person of the opposite religion. That, even in the "integrated" country club, there is a separate clubhouse for Catholics to play golf with Catholics, and for Protestants to play golf with Protestants. Similarly, in a study of racial patterns in the city of Chicago, Molotch finds residential integration but still some subtle kinds of racial segregation.<sup>34</sup> For example, swimming facilities are used by people of both races; however, the same kind of segregation of ball games played in the city. Greeley noted in the bridge games and golf matches that the most "impersonal" of social transactions, the buying of real estate, shows some racial segregation, with whites dominating the scene in the daytime, blacks at night (especially Saturday night). Whites are apparently afraid to go out.

The complex relationship between residential segregation, interethnic social distance or *prejudice* has been a major concern in recent years in the United States. Although the Supreme Court in 1954 declared that racially segregated schools were "unconstitutional" and therefore unconstitutional, there is to this day much controversy about the way in which school integration should be carried out. One of the main reasons for this controversy arises from the fact that neither interethnic social distance nor interracial social distance has been defined as a goal. Both these features persist in American social life.<sup>35</sup> Although segregation is still strong in American cities, school segregation is still "de facto" by the pattern of the neighborhood.

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Greeley, *Why Can't They Be Like Us?*, pp. 103-119.

Molotch, "Racial Integration in a Transitional Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, 34(1969) 878-893.

See note in Chapter 6, the *form* of white racism in the United States is changing considerably, but not necessarily its intensity. On the persistence of racial segregation in the United States, see Robert E. Forman, *Black Ghettos, White Ghettos and Other Urban Realities* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1971).

ces a the residents of a given neighborhood if it  
y a the residents of a neighborhood are membe  
e, then nearly all students attending a given neighb  
to be of one ethnic group.<sup>36</sup> The recent practic  
ren to schools in black neighborhoods or black chil  
e neighborhoods has generated much resistance. Wh  
y, protest this assault on the integrity of the neighb  
atively, complain that the quality of their children's  
sociation with black children, who are believed to  
ly retarded.<sup>37</sup> The interracial violence in Boston is  
ple of this protest.

Whether opposition to busing to achieve racial balanc  
based on such "rational" grounds or on more irr  
acial distance is a matter of some uncertainty. Skept  
allacy of the argument that integration downgrades  
inzen asserts, for example, that residents of a white  
ia are perfectly willing to accept a low level of en  
their children's schools (it is even suggested that so  
ols maintain higher standards) so long as school offi  
students between black and white schools.<sup>38</sup> On  
ey has argued that too many of our intellectuals, th  
ies to neighborhoods, fail to recognize the emotio  
e in "their" neighborhood and the resentment fel  
ien ethnicity intrude upon an ethnically homog  
.<sup>39</sup> As Greeley says, his purpose in these observation  
the neighborhood, but to engender some unde  
c groups resist social experiments that ignore such  
al turf."

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grew cites Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, New York, and L  
a majority of students attend schools in which nearly all their  
ne ethnic group as themselves. Thomas F. Pettigrew, "The Ra  
s," in Thomas F. Pettigrew (ed.), *Racial Discrimination in the*  
Harper & Row, 1975), pp. 224-239.

even "white liberals" have opposed busing as a solution to  
ation is indicated by Judith Caditz, "Ambivalence Toward Integ  
ponse to Six Interracial Situations," *Sociological Quarterly*, 160  
Binzen, *Whitetown USA* (New York: Random House, 1970)  
key *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* pp. 96-101

ere is, however, a subtle form of racism involved in attachment to the "neighborhood," as indicated in a survey of supporters of Louise Day Hicks, a militant leader of the Boston. <sup>40</sup> Although less than 10 percent of her white supporters expressed opposition in principle to racial integration of schools, a majority of students were black. <sup>41</sup> Large numbers also expressed attitudes favorable to residential segregation of whites. Indeed, it is Pettigrew's suggestion that the opposition in the schools is based on the fact that supporters of school segregation as a "harbinger of residential integration," as Greeley suggests, busing opponents are genuinely attached to their neighborhoods (Pettigrew reports that more supporters of Hicks own their own homes and have lived for a longer time in their neighborhood), but this is apparently an attachment to the neighborhood. Their opposition to *extensive* desegregation is a specification of a general attitude of conservatism. In fact that many more pro-Hicks than anti-Hicks Bostonians made the statement: "Things are pretty good nowadays—it is better this way they are." <sup>43</sup>

## SEGREGATION AND THE REDUCTION OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

We have just seen that the relationship between physical segregation and social distance (prejudice) is a complex one. It, however, that social distance is based on fear of the unknown, a tendency to reduce this fear by stereotyping (often in the form of prejudice) members of other ethnic groups, it would seem that factors that lead to greater contact (desegregation) between

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Thomas F. Pettigrew, *Racially Separate or Together?* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 29.

Pettigrew also found a similar reaction among Gentiles living in "Lakeville," where 20 percent of the Gentiles indicated a preference for living in a community with a majority of Jews, while only 1 to 2 percent preferred a community with a majority of Jews. *ibid.*, p. 157.

Pettigrew, *Racially Separate or Together?*, p. 223.

Pettigrew, *Racially Separate or Together?*, p. 219.

and help to reduce social distance.<sup>44</sup> This so-called contact hypothesis is qualified by a recognition of the influence of status on encouraging social distance as discussed above: the considerations in intergroup associations. Any forced association of lower status ethnic groups is likely to engender "superior" groups to such "contaminating" contacts and "superior" groups of the standoffish attitudes of the superior, then, to the contact hypothesis is that this contact between members of different ethnic groups who are of approximately equal status.<sup>45</sup>

An equal-status amendment will lead to three sorts of hypotheses about the social distance effects of interethnic contact. (1) When there is a system of ethnic stratification in which members of one dominant group are higher in status than *any* members of another, there will be no occasion for equal-status contact between members of those two groups and contact will therefore never reduce social distance.<sup>46</sup> (2) When there is some overlap between high-status and low-status positions between two ethnic groups, for example, being as high in social status as some members of one group, social distance will result only from those contacts between members of two ethnic groups who are of approximately equal status.

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Williams and his research associates were able to substantiate the contact hypothesis in a number of American communities. "In all the surveys in which we have studied intergroup relations, majority and minorities, the greater the frequency of contact, the less the prevalence of ethnic prejudice." Robin Williams, *Strangers Near Home* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 167-168. For a useful summary of the contact hypothesis, see Simpson and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Attitudes*.

It should be added, perhaps, that it is the *perception* of relative status that determines the attitudinal impact of cross-ethnic contact. Members of one group who believe that blacks are higher in status are those most likely to exhibit prejudice toward blacks. David C. Morris, "Racial Attitudes of White Residents of Segregated Neighborhoods," *Sociological Focus*, 6(Spring, 1973), pp. 1-12. In chapter 5 we shall discuss an "echelon" system of interethnic relations in which members of one group outrank all members of another group. According to this hypothesis, interracial contacts such as might occur in the military would not tend to lessen social distance. Contact would thus be effective in reducing social distance only for those members of one ethnic group whose status position was on a par with that of members of the other ethnic group. One reason why the integrated experience in the military is of great importance to Americans is that the military replaces

dering the overall status of an ethnic group (rather than among group members), the hypothesis would predict an increase in social distance when high-status groups come in contact with low-status groups than when not-so-high-status groups come in contact with low-status groups. For example, Mexican-Americans coming in contact with blacks or Indians would be more likely to experience greater social distance than would Anglos coming in contact with the same groups.<sup>48</sup>

Not only one of these hypotheses to be given much more attention is the second—the one dealing with the effect on social distance (or prejudice) of contacts between *individual* ethnic group members. Since residential patterns in the United States tend to reflect status, or some other index of status, it is understandable that the research on equal-status contacts has focused on integrated housing on the degree of racial prejudice residents have experienced such integration. A series of studies have shown that whites living in integrated housing situations tend to have less prejudice toward blacks as compared with whites living in segregated housing situations.<sup>50</sup>

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with its own system of ranks, and enforces equality of treatment within the ranks. Thus, all privates, regardless of ethnicity, are reduced to the same level, and all officers, regardless of ethnicity, are accorded the same rank in the military hierarchy confers

Brown, "Social Distance Perception as a Function of Mexican-American Status," who shows that Mexican-American students in a Texas University have less prejudice (social distance) than did Anglo students toward black students. Similarly for a population of residents of Houston, Texas, see Brown, "Ethnic Attitudes as a Basis for Minority Cooperation in a Segregated Society."

on Deutsch and Mary E. Collins, *Interracial Housing* (Minnesota Press, 1951), Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle P. Walkley, and others, *Racial Relations in Interracial Housing: A Study of the Contact Hypothesis* (University of Minnesota Press, 1955). For a recent study contradicting the contact hypothesis, see Morris, "Racial Attitudes of White Residents in Integrated and Segregated Housing."

There is an obvious problem of serious proportion in arguing that those who are less prejudiced "because of" their experience with integration, that those who are less prejudiced are more likely to choose integration. Several of the studies cited here deal with this problem by comparing prejudice in integrated versus segregated environments in which people have either integration or segregation, for example, applicants for public housing who are given a choice of their wishes to either a segregated or an integrated building.

open occupancy rules forbidding ethnic discrimination. Residents who are more disposed to reduce their interethnic contacts. On the other hand, in ethnically segregated, the introduction of ethnic newcomers may exacerbate preexisting feelings of social distance by bringing to the fore fear of the unfamiliar or of status contamination. This is supported by the findings of an earlier study about the employment of white workers of southern origin in the North.<sup>54</sup> Killian found that some plant managers who hired black workers were reluctant to hire such "hillbillies" because of the trouble. Those managers who *did* hire white workers had to make it clear to them that they would be hired on a "merit and employment under these conditions was offered on a "merit" basis. The quality of interracial relations depended on the conditions prevailing when these relations were started under a "premise of equality," they were more likely to produce the hypothesized reduction in social distance in "low-status" conditions.

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<sup>54</sup> M. Killian, "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations," *American Sociological Review* 17 (June 1952): 327-331.

## CHAPTER 5

# ETHNIC STRATIFICATION: PATTERNS OF DOMINANCE

In the preceding chapter we emphasized the element of *power* in social relationships to highlight one phase of ethnic stratification. In this chapter we focus on another fundamental feature of the orientation: the element of *power* in social relations, and the resulting patterns of dominance. In some conditions, some ethnic groups will establish dominance over other ethnic groups. A society in which there is a pattern of dominance and subordination between ethnic groups is said to have *ethnic stratification* prevails. Throughout this chapter we will use the terms *dominant group* and *minority group* to refer to the groups that occupy either high or low position in the ethnic stratification.

## DIMENSIONS OF STRATIFICATION

In contemporary sociological analysis of the differences between ethnic groups is likely to be influenced more or less

er's famous essay on the subject entitled "Class, Status, and Power." The three terms in the title of this essay refer to three different ways in which power is differentially distributed among people. The term *class* refers to its economic power—its capacity to work, to own property, to replace, to command a favorable income, to possess, to consume, to monopolize consumer goods, etc. Most such distinctions are made in popular language by those words and phrases that distinguish the rich from the poor. A *status group*, in Weber's usage, is a group of people distinguished by a distinguishable level of social power, that is, who have the capacity to command respect or deferential treatment by other people. The term *prestige* is perhaps the nearest popular term for deferential treatment. Finally, *party* points to the differential power of groups, their ability or inability to work their wills in the social and political organs of government.

Weber's definitions of types of power provide the basic conceptual framework for the questions about the nature of domination by some groups of human beings over other groups of human beings. In this framework, the three dimensions of stratification with reference to ethnicity, class, and status provide alternative models of power relationships come immediately to mind. The first model presents the possibility—indeed, often the reality—that power in one of these dimensions may be used to enhance power in another dimension, thus suggesting that Weber's dimensions of power are *interchangeable*. For instance, a group of wealthy persons may use that wealth to "buy" (directly or indirectly) of political office or to secure positions of honor or political influence for themselves; the politically powerful may use their power to secure economic or social position; and so forth. The other model suggests that the dimensions of power may not always coincide—may, in fact, be mutually exclusive of one another. For example, persons of great wealth may not have honor or political influence if their wealth is "illegitimate"; the social elite of a community—its old family—may not be its wealthiest or most politically influential; the question of whether a given ethnic (or any other) group is dominant or subordinate at least entertain the possibility that social disadvantage



not be generalized to a disability in all aspects of  
ence  
e take no position here on the relative merits of the  
dependence models of power relationships. A fully  
of ethnic relations between groups in a specific con  
h relations in Canada, Jewish-Gentile relations in  
d probably have to adopt one or the other of the  
the purpose of this book is not to describe fully and  
to furnish some tools for the analysis of specific si  
lves in this chapter to a closer examination of some  
s involved in Weber's three dimensions of power.  
e, we shall examine below the three types of stratifi  
(, political) indicated by his analysis.<sup>2</sup>

## ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION

e general distinction between "the rich" and "the  
ly related to the interaction of different ethnic gr  
environment. Black, Indian, and Chicano Americ  
ound in overwhelming numbers among the poor, w  
ewish Americans tend to be among the affluent. S  
that it is sometimes argued that so-called race re  
s relations," that the "revolt against inequality," w  
n Chapter 7, is actually a revolt of the deprived eth  
conomic domination of peoples of European origin  
e importance of considering "class" in any discussi  
een ethnic groups was indicated in the previous ch  
that equal status is probably a necessary condition  
ction in contact situations. When equal status is  
ly the case in interpersonal contact across ethnic  
situation being, for example, the unequal-status

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some apology for using the term *social stratification* as one of  
ation since, from the author's viewpoint, all forms of stratificati  
sense of dealing with socially controlled relationships between

survey of some viewpoints of this type, along with an attempted  
wing that the revolutions in Zanzibar and Ruanda were essentially  
revolutions see Leo Kuper "Theories of Revolution and Race  
*Studies in Society and History* 13(January 1971) 87-107

owner and black employee), then it would appear to only engender social distance rather than reduce sociological discussion of economic stratification has been oriented toward the area of *employment* since, with individual's wealth or income is derived from some gain; in the case of inherited wealth, income is based on one's forebears. It seems reasonable, then, to conceive conditions that mark an ethnic group as a minority economic position. Economic disadvantage will result if an ethnic group experience one or more of these conditions: (1) employment in less remunerative lines of work, (2) employment in less remunerative lines of work, and (3) less remuneration than dominant-group in the same line of work (underpayment).

## Employment

a tight labor market—one in which there are few job seekers—the subordination of a minority group is the relative difficulty its members have in getting an job. The unemployment rate of black Americans has been higher than the unemployment rate of white Americans for fifteen years; and black unemployment is especially high. The unemployment situation among American Indians is also high. In the "full employment" year of 1967, with an unemployment rate of 3.1 percent, the unemployment rate for Indians was 6.0 percent, while that of Indians living on reservations was 12.5 percent.<sup>5</sup> At about the same time there were certain reservations where the unemployment rate among Indian males was as high as 25 percent.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the wider consequences of high unemployment among Indian members have been noted. In the case of the American Indians, a high proportion of alcoholics among the Indian population is due to the frustrations attending the abject poverty in which

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Edward E. Anderson, "Full Employment and Economic Equality," *American Journal of Political and Social Science*, 418(March, 1975):127-132.  
L. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid* (Washington, D. C. : American Indian Education, 1974), p.12.

Anderson, *American Indians and Federal Aid*, p. 14

le live.<sup>7</sup> In the case of blacks, the well-publicized 'y in black families is apparently largely the result of employed (or underemployed) husband to provide ec and children. This failure to provide weakens the a direct economic sense and in a more extended onomically, the presence of an unemployed man be an out-and-out liability. A mother's eligibility tance (Aid to Dependent Children, or ADC) to sup be based on the existence of a household without Thus, many black men are actually discouraged fro es in a husband-father role. As Billingsley puts it: "f families are often forced to choose (due to current een a father in the home and money in the home pragmatic choice for money."<sup>8</sup>

According to the interchangeability conception of po economic deprivation, especially among young b to generate subordination in the area of social po cy that emphasizes the male role as breadwinner, de this bread suffers a loss of social respectability es on welfare, he is likely to find himself labeled b ociety as a "have not" without will or gumption to m asite who would rather take a handout than get a d male thus has nothing to give his family in the wa ing in the community. With the loss of social respec urse, a loss of self-respect<sup>10</sup> and, perhaps, an attempt

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study of off-reservation Indian behavior that illustrates this rela onomic privation, see Theodore D. Graves, "The Personal A Migrants to Denver, Colorado," *American Anthropologist*, 72

ow Billingsley, *Black Families in White America* (Englewood Cl pp 156, 157

Komarovsky, *The Unemployed Man and His Family* (New York ed , New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

effect is demonstrated in, among other studies, Elliott Liebow, 7 Brown, 1966), David Schulz, *Coming Up Black Patterns of wood Cliffs, N J : Prentice-Hall, 1969), Ulf Hannerz, "Roots action, 6(October, 1969) 13-21*

Banton comments on "an i a white supremacy society, the Negro women gain a relative ac ess from racial subordination than their men and because the e mits their to seize greater authority n domestic mat

status loss by withdrawing into a hell-raising street culture of the "boys."<sup>11</sup>

## Underemployment

data on the rate of unemployment among members of the black community, of course, only a relatively small part of the picture. The disadvantage arising from limited employment opportunities for black men—even young ones—have jobs of some kind, but they tend to be concentrated at levels or in fields that are low-paying. Some indications of this: in 1969, although blacks constituted 12 percent of the population of the United States, only 3 percent were classified as "managers, officials, and proprietors" while 16 percent of "professional and technical" workers were black. "Craftsmen and foremen" were nonwhite, while fully 44 percent of "farm laborers" and 44 percent of all "private household workers" were nonwhite.<sup>12</sup>

**Black enterprise.** The relatively small number of American blacks in "managers, officials, and proprietors" suggests an aspiration for upward mobility that has been of much interest in the black community. The subject has also generated a considerable body of literature. Blacks and those friendly to their situation have developed a "ownership of business"—especially businesses catering to the black community. "Black capitalism" is often seen as something of a panacea for the economic ills, since it is widely believed that black employers are less racially discriminatory in their hiring practices than white employers and that the profits of black-owned business would be reinvested in the black community.

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A compensatory explanation of young black male street behavior is offered by Richard A. Cloward and M. S. Edmonson (eds.), *The Eighth Generation: Culture and Social Change in the Negro Ghetto* (New York: Harper, 1960). It also follows closely the idea that delinquent lower-class gang activity represents an attempt by young blacks to create a delinquent world in which they can succeed for a legitimate purpose. See Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York: Free Press, 1955).

For a more general discussion, see George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities in American Society* (New York: Free Press, 1972), p. 323.

Other titles in this literature include James M. Hund, *Black Entrepreneurship* (New York: Wadsworth, 1970), Earl Ofari, *The Myth of Black Capitalism* (New York: Free Press, 1970), Ronald W. Bailey (ed.), *Black Business Enterprise* (New York: Free Press, 1971), Edwin M. Epstein and David R. Hampton (eds.), *Black Business and the American Economy* (New York: Free Press, 1971).

black economy rather than being used to enrich white businessmen. The sociologists' questions on this matter seem to have been so little self-employment among blacks that to what extent could discrimination in the job market be offset by putting more ownership of employing organizations in the hands of blacks?

At the first point—the dearth of black entrepreneurial activity—there has been a variety of explanations. To illustrate, we can look at the second point. It has been argued that black Americans—unlike other ethnic groups such as the Jews or the Chinese—have not been successful in self-employment.<sup>14</sup> An aspect of the "communal deprivation" suffered by slavery was their enforced inability to engage in economic or social activity, entrepreneurial or otherwise.<sup>15</sup> A group's entrepreneurial success is built up over several generations; the business acquires a clientele through the development of a reputation in the community (legally called "goodwill") and through technological know-how and often inherited capital. Thus any present lack of entrepreneurial activity among blacks is the result of such activity among the forebears of currently entrepreneurial ethnic groups.

In contrasting the lack of business ownership among blacks with the entrepreneurial success of some other ethnic groups, it has been argued that the cultural distinctiveness of a group and the tendency to maintain a unique ethnic life style may have encouraged entrepreneurship in some ethnic groups, but not for blacks.<sup>16</sup> Peoples with a "sojourner" attitude

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Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 411; Eugene P. Foley, "The Negro Businessman. In Search of a Solution," *Black Caucus*, 95(Winter, 1966):107-144.

Simon Bryce-Laporte, "The American Slave Plantation and Our Present Situation," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 12(March-April, 1969):1-10.

Robert H. Kinzer and Edward Sagarin, *The Negro in American Life: From Separation and Integration* (New York: Greenberg, 1950). In London, England, Dahya points out that Pakistani businessmen, despite their small numbers, have a vested interest in their customers remaining Pakistani. These businessmen tend to be very active in promoting communal activities. See Badr Dahya, "The Nature of Pakistani Ethnicity in India," in Robert Cohen (ed.), *Urban Ethnicity* (London: Tavistock, 1974), pp. 11-22.

ence in a country are inclined to resist acculturation and consumption of consumer goods. Thus Americans of Chinese or Puerto Rican ancestry are likely to patronize grocery stores that cater to the tastes of people from these countries. Black Americans, however, have a closer connection with native African tastes, and the American "soul" culture designated as "soul" has generated little resistance. It is hard to satisfy the consumer demands of that life style. But if such ties do exist—in the rather extensive production of soul food, for example—the pattern of black consumer demands bears a striking resemblance to the white-dominated business interests prevails here, as elsewhere. The foregoing interpretation of why black entrepreneurship is so often criticized by Light, who offers an alternative interpretation of the phenomenon which he compared Japanese, Chinese, and black American entrepreneurship with reference to their entrepreneurial activities.<sup>19</sup> Japanese-Americans, in contrast with the blacks, have been heavily involved in entrepreneurship in America. This propensity of the Japanese-American community in entrepreneurial activity *cannot*, Light argues, be explained by the tendency of such businesses to cater to the specific demands of an ethnic clientele. For one thing, the entrepreneurship conducted by Orientals in a given community is not necessarily limited to the ethnic clientele. The Chinese restaurant or laundry, the Japanese business—all depend for their success on support from the white community. For another, those Oriental businesses that serve ethnic clienteles may be heavily involved in commerce that does not reflect traditional life styles. Chinese groceries, for example, as well as ginger root, and when Chinese-American consumers may well be buying non-Chinese goods from a Chinese store.

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New York City, for example, with its proliferation of "ethnic" restaurants, etc.—the "soul" restaurant is almost totally absent. Baklava is a staple of restaurants, but where can one buy a serving of turnip greens?

This situation may reflect the fact that "soul" musical styles tend to be popular among people who are also interested in the soul life style. The three major commercial musical styles—jazz, and urban blues (as opposed to "country" music)—have long been popular among the black community. Charles Keil, *Urban Blues* (Chicago, 1966).

H. Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

suggests that the crucial difference between Orientals and Americans may be the existence among Orientals but not Americans of a traditional system that makes it relatively easy for an entrepreneur to acquire the capital needed to start up a business. It describes the operation of the exotic (from an Occidental point of view) form of the "rotating credit association" that makes it possible for a participant in the scheme to have unrestricted use of the capital contributed by the participants. Oriental entrepreneurs in America have made much use of this device for capitalization of businesses. Deprived of this source,<sup>20</sup> have had to depend on banks and lending agencies. If controlled by whites, these lending agencies have tended to be racially discriminatory in their lending policies. If controlled by blacks, they have tended to be unstable and short-lived.

Another explanation for the differences in entrepreneurial behavior between Orientals and blacks is suggested in the notion of the middleman in ethnic stratification systems.<sup>21</sup> Middlemen exist between the most dominant and the most subordinate groups in a population. This middleman function often takes the form of merchandising, the conveying of goods from dominant producers to profit from their production, to the masses, who consume the goods. The merchants tend to be rather precariously balanced between the hostile reactions of both dominant and subordinate groups. They are seen by them too grubby and calculating, subordinates often accuse them of being peddlers who sell shoddy goods at exorbitant prices.<sup>22</sup> The position of themselves in their social environments, and the fact that they must face the classic problem of getting started in business, the problem of credit to capitalize a business, as dis-

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<sup>20</sup> This indicates that very similar customs were found in traditional Chinese societies. As we have already noted, the experience of slavery in the United States has roots from this ethnic tradition.

<sup>21</sup> Robert M. Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations* (New York, 1969), pp. 79-84; Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(October, 1973): 583-594.

<sup>22</sup> The attitudes of black ghetto residents toward white merchants and the feelings of the merchants, see David Boesel et al., "White Institutional Racism," *Black Caucus*, 6(March, 1969):24-31. That so-called black anti-Semitism is a resentment of the behavior of Jews in such "middleman" or "peddler" roles is noted in Gertrude Selznick and Stephen Selznick, *The Tenuousness of Jewish Power* (New York, 1969), pp. 1, 7, 21.

ingness to work long hours for a minimum standard  
s can be plowed back into the business to expand  
perhaps it requires something of the "sojourner" attitude  
to be able to endure these conditions. People  
poised and rejected" in the immediate social environment  
that eventually they will return home to live and  
le after having turned a tidy profit on "overseas  
ty. Such consideration would certainly explain some  
s in entrepreneurial activity between blacks and Orientals.  
icans have always understood that, for better or worse,  
y. Many Oriental immigrants (as well as Italian, Greek,  
can-American, etc.) have assumed, at least in the early years  
n the United States, that they would be returning home  
igin. Although probably most Americans of Oriental origin  
now here to stay, their desire to stay may be one of the fruits  
their earlier economic success. Having achieved middle-class  
middleman economic roles, they now are loathe to return to  
apan that is about as remote to their personal experience as  
of most other Americans.<sup>24</sup>

**cs in the labor market.** Self-employment is clearly a "last  
ast" in the occupational scene in the United States. In most  
ountries, and most ethnic group members must start out  
on their ability to make themselves "salable" to the market  
s for their work. This fact is as true for white-collar

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sociologically educated reader may recognize in this work syndr  
ber's attribution of the influence of a "Protestant ethic" on the c  
s adhering to the Calvinist brand of Protestantism. The parallel  
e that Weber also described the early capitalist entrepreneur as  
d" among his peers, who still felt commercial enterprise was  
ed—a view contrary to the hard-working "sober bourgeois"  
st, who saw commercial success as a mark of God's blessing. C  
s today, because there is no religious ethic (except possibly the  
is) that gives strong sanction to entrepreneurial activity, ethnic  
r attitudes have taken on these marginal economic roles. Max V  
*and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York  
ne indication of this, Kitano reports that newly arrived immig  
be understood by Japanese-Americans several generations removed  
their ancestors—and that the newcomers may be objects of d  
erred to as F.O.B.'s (Fresh Off the Boat). Harry H. L. Kitano



changing or scientific research as it is for blue-collar workers. The question to be addressed in this section is: To what extent do minority group members denied opportunities to compete for jobs with members of the dominant ethnic group? A number of sociological studies have indicated the underemployment of minority group members in occupations of low status.<sup>25</sup> A typical observation is that there is a dual labor market, for example, native British workers dominating the high status rank while the less desirable occupations are taken by Commonwealth immigrants.<sup>26</sup>

There may, of course, be explanations other than discrimination for these occupational distributions (some of these explanations will be discussed in the following chapter). The inadequate education of minority groups may be a factor in their occupational disadvantage. There is also a tendency toward a "culture of poverty," where a fatalistic attitude is linked to their low social position. But even when these variables are controlled for, as in a recent study of the benefits under social security,<sup>28</sup> it can be shown that a given level of education and a given work attitude make minority groups disadvantaged compared with whites who have the same education and a similar attitude toward work.

Employment opportunities for minority groups are largely determined by the distribution of residential and employment patterns of the dominant groups. Traditionally, the movement of the white population away from the central city has opened up job opportunities for recent migrant groups willing to settle in the core area.<sup>29</sup> The rapid suburbanization of the white population

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number of such studies of minority ethnic groups in the United States. See John H. and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, chap. 11.

25. Douglas Bosanquet and Peter B. Doeringer, "Is There a Dual Labor Market?" *Economic Journal*, 83 (June, 1973) 421-435.

26. Seymour Lieberson and Glenn V. Fuguitt, "Negro-White Occupational Segregation: A Measure of Discrimination," *American Journal of Sociology*, 73 (September, 1968) 100-115.

27. A. Spreitzer and Saad Z. Nagi, "Race and Equality of Opportunity," *Phylon*, 34 (September, 1973) 248-255.

28. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1945). The same process of occupational mobility of groups as later groups arrive is described in John Brown, *The Town and Its Immigrants* (London: Macmillan, 1970).

s following World War II may have opened up jobs for blacks, who were generally left behind in the 1940s. A picture emerges of a lessening gap between occupational opportunities available to the two races. A substantial gap remains, partly because employment in the inner city have not kept pace with changing composition of urban neighborhoods.

A study of black ghetto areas in Boston, Chicago, and New York shows this fact that despite residential turnover in the ghettos, opportunities may still be somewhat limited.<sup>31</sup> In these areas, employers in black ghetto areas tend to be whites who live several miles from their places of business and employ white workers who also live outside the ghetto. These employers are often people who once lived in the area and lost their jobs even though they no longer live in the ghetto. Neither the white owner nor the white wage earner stands necessarily out of a strong desire to hold onto these economic opportunities. In the case of the white businessman, he may find the cost of relocation prohibitive, or he may be willing to sell but cannot raise enough capital to buy him out. The white worker may not be able to find a job closer to home. Even if the ghettos were transferred to black owners and if all the jobs employed by these owners, Aldrich shows that only 40 percent of residents could be so employed. Black ghetto areas are thus "labor exporters," which means many ghetto residents must seek employment outside the ghetto and contend with all the competition that exist in the general labor market.

## Overpayment

Even though members of an ethnic minority may achieve a quality of opportunity to secure "better" lines of employment, they are victims of discriminatory wage-payment practices. Members of dominant groups are paid more than minority groups.

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31. C. Hodge, "The Negro Job Situation: Has It Improved?" *Monthly Review*, 1969, pp. 20-28, Reynolds Farley and Albert Hermalin, "The Job Situation for Blacks?" *Demography*, 9(1972):353-370.

gh both are doing the same work. To illustrate, in northern Rhodesia, industrial employers (with the support of unions) maintain one wage scale for European workers and a lower one for native workers.<sup>32</sup> This discriminatory policy is based on the grounds that the standard of living in Rhodesia is lower than that prevailing in the European countries. Powdermaker indicates the fallacy in this reasoning by showing the bitter reaction to the policy by the native workers. "They have acquired quite modern tastes in consumption and are economically deprived relative to the white workers. In the United States, studies of the earning power of blacks and Mexican-Americans suggest a similar "cost" of belonging to one of these groups.<sup>33</sup> Siegel found, for example, that when other disadvantages (poorer education, etc.) were taken into account, blacks lost one thousand dollars in annual income to be white in the mid-sixties. These studies also show that the competitive advantage of blacks and Mexican-Americans is especially apparent in lower-level occupations. This suggests that efforts by blacks to prepare themselves for more lucrative occupations (e.g., higher education, for example) are less likely to "pay off" in higher income than similar efforts made by whites. This latter finding is, however, contradicted by recent evidence of dramatic income gains for blacks at the "professional" occupational level.<sup>34</sup> The demand for blacks in the public sector or the "token integration" needs of universities, government agencies, etc. has given those relatively few blacks in these positions a competitive advantage over whites.<sup>35</sup> These studies of the "cost" of being a member of a minority group seem to come fully to grips with the possibility that

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Ernest Powdermaker, *Copper Town: Changing Africa, The Human Cost of the Industrial Copperbelt* (New York, Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 89-90.

33. M. Siegel, "On the Cost of Being a Negro," *Sociological Inquiry*, 36(1965) 1-10; Dudley L. Poston and David Alvarez, "On the Cost of Being Black," *Social Science Quarterly*, 53(March, 1973) 697-709.

34. Richard B. Freeman, "Decline of Labor Market Discrimination and the Black Worker," *American Economic Review Proceedings and Papers*, 67(May, 1977) 1-10.

35. For an indication of some of the employment advantages associated with being a woman (and women) and minority ethnic status (blacks), see Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "The Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black People," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(January 1973) 912-935.

reflect not so much income discrimination *within* as the continued exclusion of ethnic group members from certain occupations. To show, for example, that white plumbers earn more than black plumbers *may* be to show that black plumbers are far from the status of "master" plumber with its accompanying respect and income.

In the case of Mexican-Americans, a careful study of Chicanos in Texas and California reveals that they earn less money than Anglos in similar lines of work. However, there was only a very slight discrimination against Mexican-Americans. Even in Texas, where income discrimination is more pronounced, the average income of Chicano workers ranges from 80 to 90 percent of the average income of other workers in the same occupation. Grebler, Moore, and Guzman feel that the demands for wages, which minority groups are demanding, often through the labor union, may indeed lead to the elimination of income differences *within* an occupational category without necessarily ensuring equal access to that occupation. In fact, these authors argue that standardized wage scales may actually work *against* this goal. Access to the "better" jobs: "Mexican-Americans enjoy standardized wages at the price of low employment representation for these better wages."<sup>37</sup> The authors do not really believe that "employment representation" is a necessary "price" for wage standardization. It may simply be that Mexican-Americans and other ethnic minorities, have been more successful in insuring their relatively "successful" members than for the less successful. There have been successes under less discriminatory social conditions. It takes the imagination, for example, to believe that the success of black Americans was retarded by the successes of the white Americans, which, as has often been noted, benefited primarily those with enough resources to be in some kind of competitive position. Although social movements can often be criticized for not attending to the needs of the masses of a minority group, it is not wise to suggest that the continued subordination of mo-

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Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, *The Mexican-American Problem* (New York: Free Press 1970), pp. 239-245.

bers is the price that must be paid for the success of these efforts.<sup>38</sup>

## POLITICAL STRATIFICATION

The political power of an ethnic group is measured by its ability to influence the course of those governmental actions (laws, arrests by police, sentences by judges, etc.) that affect its members. In this section we shall discuss the position of minorities in terms of their political power on three levels: (1) political autonomy, the right of a minority group to establish its own political institutions; (2) "inside" political interference, the ability of group members to influence governmental decisions taken by the state; and (3) civil rights, the ability of group members to demand and receive equal treatment from the agencies of government. In discussing each of these dimensions of political power, we shall observe some of the great variations in the ability of different peoples to exercise these powers.

### Political Autonomy

A characteristic feature of any fully developed human community is the ability of the people in that community to exercise the political functions of government over their own members. While no political jurisdiction is completely autonomous under modern political systems, etc.—is completely autonomous under modern political systems, the people in each jurisdiction are subject to law and order by a higher level of authority—the national state, for example. There are, however, more or less well-established areas of "local control" or "local autonomy" within the larger political systems. The degree of such local autonomy is a subject of considerable controversy. The controversy is frequently heightened when the residents of a local community belong to an ethnic group that is a people of a race, religion, or national origin different from the majority people in the society. Black people in Harlem, Canada in Quebec, French-Canadians in Montreal, for example, are subject to laws not of their own making and not controlled by the members of their ethnic groups.

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It is not, of course, to deny that there may be this kind of feeling of frustration among the members of an ethnic group who must live with their own lack of advancement and who are often the victims of the actions of members of their own group.

probably the clearest examples of ethnic groups deprived for political autonomy are those *colonial* situations in which a people, usually a major European power like Britain, establishes its domination over a "native" people and enforces the authority of the laws of the colonizing power. As we have seen, there is some variation in this practice: "direct rule" may mean the laws of the colonizing power for those of the colony, or it may leave intact much of the traditional native political structure. In an important differentiation, a colony by definition is subject to external domination, and it may be no less complete for the colony to have political figures whose continuation in power is a function of the authorities may develop an understandable sensitivity to the idea of ruling "autonomously" in a way that satisfies colonial powers. In the last several years, a number of American sociologists have developed the concept of "internal colonialism" to describe the conditions of several ethnic groups within the United States, such as the Blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians, to a greater or lesser degree. To deprive the political rights of citizens of the country, to subject them to domination, and perhaps an accurate one, that the communities of color are really very much like colonies in that the important decisions making their lives are made by people and through processes in which they have little effectual control. Just as "class" has been articulated in the movements for liberation of native peoples, so has the existence of internal colonialism (with the more or less willing acquiescence of the dominant group). The existence of internal colonialism has led to calls for Black Power or some other expression of the idea that an ethnic group should have political autonomy in their own communities. In the last internal colonialism has been so prominent a factor in the Black liberation movements, we shall defer further consideration of the concept of political autonomy and concentrate in the rest of this chapter on the evolution of political autonomy experienced by people in other situations.

Internal colonialism in the classic sense, that is, the political domination of a people by the great European powers—British, French, Dutch,

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Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt," *Social Problems* 10 (1963): 393-408. Joan W. Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican Revolution," *Annals* 17 Spring, 1970: 463-472. Robert K. Thomas, "Colonialism and the American Indian," *New York University Thought* 41 (1966): 37-44.

Dutch etc. is a most striking thing of history with a few continued French domination in parts of the West. The legacy of foreign political domination lives on in the politics of independent nations. One consequence of colonialism is the artificiality of political jurisdictions imposed on indigenous rule. Intertribal civil war followed the removal of the Belgians from the Congo (now the Republic of Zaire), for which independence movements proliferated—the unsuccessful Ibos and the unsuccessful Bengalese in Bangladesh—demonstrating that the removal from a colonial power is not enough to satisfy the demands of ethnic groups for political autonomy if one of the several ethnic groups in a new nation feels that the country is being partitioned for the benefit of the dominant ethnic group. The political aftermath of great power colonialism depends in large extent on the process by which colonies attain independence. For one thing, there is a difference between independence achieved with the acceptance or even active encouragement of the colonizer, and independence won after bitter conflict between the colonized. Under British colonial policy, native peoples were regarded as politically immature but, under British tutelage, capable of self-government.<sup>41</sup> This philosophy influenced the willingness of Britain in the independence movements of most of her colonies. It did not prevent fierce resistance in Cyprus and India. The reluctance to let go was apparently based on a sense of responsibility for the continued political domination in these areas. Britain, on the other hand, operated under an "assimilationist" policy. The natives would eventually become full-fledged French citizens and part of "metropolitan" France. This philosophy made the relinquishing of colonial control; the long struggles in Indochina and Algeria had known results. These variations in policy will influence the fate of those European "colonials" who remain in their colonies after independence is attained.

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A description of the apparently stable French colonial presence in the French West Indies of Martinique and Guadeloupe, see Chester L. Hunt and John H. Coatsworth, *French Colonialism* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1974), pp. 207-214.

John H. Coatsworth, *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 1-2. For reference to the "paternalist" tendency in British colonial policy and the "assimilationist" tendency in French policy.

other profoundly important variation in the nature of the process is whether political control passes from the hands of the indigenous people, as was the case in India, or, as happened in Rhodesia, it passes into the hands of the settlers, whose control of the political apparatus guarantees their dominance over the indigenous people. Very different interests are at stake in newly independent nations, depending on the access of the settlers to political power. In nations where the natives who successfully revolt are likely to use their economic power to make life very difficult for the European settlers, as in the Algerian revolution, for example, was followed by the withdrawal of the agricultural holdings of the French settlers,<sup>42</sup> or as followed by the new native government in Kenya, which expelled the settlers in that country.<sup>43</sup> In colonies that had contained very few settlers—as was generally true of British colonies in Africa—this effect of independence was, of course, greatly reduced. For other ethnic people who may experience hardship in the process are those immigrants who have entered the colonies in such roles as colonial exploiters to supplement an inadequate supply of labor. The Chinese entered southeast Asia to fill such specific roles while this area was under European colonial rule. Subsequent difficulties in such newly independent nations as Indonesia reflect native feelings against people who are seen as competitors.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, a great many people of Asian descent, entered African colonies in such roles and have experienced postrevolutionary persecution: the recent mass expulsions from Uganda is a prominent example.<sup>45</sup> In nations where settler-sponsored anticolonial revolts are likely to have occurred, the balance of political power between settler and native interests is a key factor. So long as an imperial power administers a colony through a colonial office, it can afford—indeed, may even desire—to maintain an “enlightened” or paternalistic attitude toward the natives.

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R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1969) 100–101.  
Hald Rothchild, “Kenya’s Africanization Program: Priorities of Development,” *American Political Science Review*, 64 (September, 1970) 737–744.  
E. Williams, *The Future of the Overseas Chinese* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) 100–101.  
L. van den Berghe, “Asians in East and South Africa,” in *Piercing the Veil of Ethnicity* (New York: Basic Books, 1970) pp. 276–303.



<sup>46</sup> If nothing else, the colonial power may be constrained on the international stage and, when a demand for universal human equality prevails, may need to assure that its technological power is not for the raw exploitation of revolutionary settler governments, however, while likely to value the value system of the mother country, are much more concerned with systems of survival and prosperity in their territory of residence. Rapid population growth makes them either land or job hungry, and it is an immediate interest to deprive the natives of these privileges. Zimbabwe or a Rhodesia, freed of British colonial restraints, might have a very repressive system such as *apartheid*. The policy of "Indian Removal," by which the young government of the United States moved the numerous Indians from the Atlantic coastal areas into areas of the then-remote West, would perhaps have been unthinkable without colonial rule.

## Political Influence

Although an ethnic group may have difficulty maintaining its autonomy or self-government, they may still gain significant influence in the direction of affairs in their social environment. Indeed, a central tenet of political theory of pluralism argues that political decisions should seek to represent a balance (or compromise) among the competing demands of *all* significant social groupings, ethnic or otherwise. Although blacks or Puerto Ricans in a given community may not be politically self-governing by any means, they may be able to influence policies and laws directly affecting their vital interests. This is because, if for no other reason, competing political groups will seek to be rivals for the voting support of members of such groups.

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<sup>47</sup> In a country like Spain, which is not usually noted for its "paternalistic" policies toward indigenous peoples, may have exercised such constraints on its settler colonies. Spanish control over local policies of powerful Spanish settler colonies was probably slight. Hunt and Walker, *Ethnic Dynamics*, pp. 10-11. The severely repressive policies toward native peoples that followed the removal of the United States and other countries from British colonial control, are discussed in *Settlers and Native Peoples* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1975). See also Robert A. Dahl, *Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

ch political pluralism is not always the case, however. A series of studies of decision-making processes in governing matters, such as public housing, that *do* concern the interests of black residents of the city.<sup>49</sup> These studies suggest that various political forces in the city have conspired to minimize the influence of blacks on decisions that directly concern them. The administration of Mayor Lindsay was committed to locating housing projects on "white" sites for housing projects rather than to continue to locate housing projects in or near established "black" areas. As a result, the vehement opposition of middle-class whites to the proposed sites made the scattered scheme impossible to implement, although they were an important part of the coalition that elected and reelected Mayor Lindsay, blacks found that they were not rewarded with concrete political decisions such as the right to receive from the city government. The realization of the futility of advancing their interests through the support of "white liberals" or other dominant groups has led minority groups to seek influence by election or appointment of their own representatives to positions of political influence. Several studies have indicated the success of such efforts. Although a substantial proportion of the population of Chicago, blacks were only rarely found in major decision-making positions, especially in the private sector (e.g., on the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, of private colleges and universities). The positions of political prominence that *were* held by blacks were at lower level positions, or to be those in which the population was almost exclusively black (e.g. a black labor leader in an industrial union, a city councilman from a black ghetto ward). A study of the exclusion of blacks from major power positions in Chicago was incomplete.<sup>51</sup> Among business leaders, for example, the study found only one black among the 1,867 "key positions" in business.

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John Bellush and Stephen David (eds.), *New York City: Five Studies* (New York: Praeger, 1971).

Gold M. Baron et al., "Black Powerlessness in Chicago," *Transitions* 13 (1972): 27-33.

H. Flaming, J. John Palen, Grant Ringlien, and Corneff Taylor, "Decision-Making Positions," *Sociological Quarterly* 13 (1972): 126-

ary, a study in Toronto, a city with a notably high homogeneity (about 40 percent of the city's population born), found a continued pattern of Anglo-Saxon power positions in the city.<sup>52</sup>

An ethnic group's prospects for political influence were considerably enhanced when the population of an area was near-majority of members of that ethnic group. This was true, as recent analysis has suggested is true in the United States, of a persisting "ethnic factor" in political behavior, with Catholics for Catholic political candidates, blacks for black candidates, and so on. The possibility for political *dominance* of a minority group in a situation has assumed special interest in the United States because of the increasing concentration of blacks in areas where they may attain a majority or near-majority of population. The prospect that they will elect political leaders who will, once in office, to respond to the special political needs of the black community. Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, was, in 1967, the first black elected mayor of a major American city. Since then, other cities that now have black mayors include Newark, Los Angeles, Oakland, and Atlanta.

Whether black people in high political office will be able to achieve the changes desired by black people is another matter. Having a black person in political office may be no more a guarantee of change than being a vital part of a coalition was a guarantee of change in political decisions for New York blacks. An analysis of Richard Hatcher in Gary illustrates some of the limitations of black mayors on behalf of black people.<sup>54</sup> Hatcher's basic problem was to overcome the traditional political machine of the city, controlled by the main industry of the city, United States Steel. The politically white Catholic Democratic political machine had been in power for years more or less in the interest of the steel company. When installed political heads, Hatcher "inherited" a bu-

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52. Joy Kelner, "Ethnic Penetration Into Toronto's Elite Structure," *Journal of Black Psychology and Anthropology*, 7(May, 1970), 128-137.

53. R. Levy and Michael S. Kramer, *The Ethnic Factor: How Ethnicity Affects Elections* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

54. David Greer, "The Liberation of Gary, Indiana," *Trans-action* 8(1).

nts who were in most cases white, who were more  
Hatcher regime, but whose expertise was vital to his  
the new mayor disappointed the expectations of  
assumed there would be a massive movement of  
employment upon the advent of Hatcher's administrat  
support (which Hatcher very successfully did), b  
al from one of encouraging participation by blacks  
of demonstrating what his administration was doing  
of improving their condition. On this matter, Hat  
onstrate a great deal. Since Gary was the first ma  
mayor, the city was the focus of much black atte  
e time of Mayor Hatcher's election, the Johnson-H  
rt Kennedy wings of the national Democratic Party  
ously for black support. Hatcher found it quite easy  
el Cities and other federal money for Gary (to such  
r "headache" in the early part of his administratio  
preoccupation of his staff with applications for fe  
political leaders must face many of the same probl  
l, with the additional limitation that, unlike Mayor H  
dvantage of "novelty" or of being singled out as sy  
natory policy in the wider society.

## **1 Rights of Ethnic Groups**

en *without* any direct influence on the agencies of  
only without any power to maintain such agencies  
from those of the wider society), members of an  
assert certain "rights" as citizens because of the equ  
e political institutions under which they live. Thus t  
untry may guarantee (as does the Fourteenth Ar  
stitution of the United States) the "equal protection o  
regard to such matters as "race, creed, or color"  
stitution, the rights of citizenship may be extended t  
y introduced to an area without regard for the po  
ence of that group. That this "equal protection" of

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er compares the problem of Hatcher in this regard to that of th  
s of black Africa, which are dependent on the technical expe  
ers of an earlier era. For a description of such problems in one  
and Kenya's                      zation Program.

be based on political influence is not of course legislation of the 1960s in the United States (voting rights, public accommodations, etc.) was certainly influenced by the threat of black political influence at all levels from the street riot. Many other ethnic groups (e.g., Chicano) were potential participants in the process of making those decisions, unless the recipients of the new "protection" so provoked the law, or indeed whether, a government chooses to enforce the "protection" guaranteed by the laws of the land is another question. In any case, uneven enforcement seems to be a feature of environments that are ethnically stratified. A frequent complaint is that such agencies of law enforcement as the police are in fact discriminatory in their treatment of people of different groups. For this reason, it is often argued, the high crime rates of ethnic groups are actually the result of discriminatory administration of criminal justice. Blacks in the United States (and Māori in New Zealand, for example, are found guilty of crime several times higher than those prevailing among the whites of these two countries.<sup>56</sup> American blacks have felt that their crime rates reflect the oversensitivity of the police to offenses committed by blacks. The "police brutality" about which they complain is largely a matter of the humiliation blacks feel in being treated as suspicious persons simply because they are black. Thus, in addition to the racial tension that preceded the 1965 riot in Los Angeles was the police practice of stopping and frisking "niggers" on the streets in the area.<sup>57</sup>

The police, after all, can exercise a great deal of discretion in dealing with offenders or suspected offenders (arresting vs. arresting and questioning vs. looking the other way, etc.). In the case of police treatment of juveniles suggests that this discretion is not unexpected, since juvenile officers are skeptical (probably rightly) of the reformative value of arrest and possible

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black vs. white crime rates in the United States, see Marvin E. Wolfgang, *Crime and Race* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1958). For New Zealand, see Patrick O'Malley, "The Amplification of Māori Ethnic Barriers to Equal Justice in New Zealand," *Race*, 15(July, 1972), 1-10; and Robert Blauner, "Whitewash Over Watts," *Transaction*, 3(March-

g offenders.<sup>58</sup> Police officers are thus encouraged to judge the suspect's "character." They tend to be misled by suspects who are very deferential to or repentant, and by those who seem sincerely repentant. Those who live in ghetto environments and view the police as generally hostile to and alienated from the authority status of the society, may find it especially difficult to expect the police to use their "discretion" against them in a negative way. Once minority group members become embroiled in dealing with criminal charges in a court of law, they experience "unequal" protection, such as the difficulty of getting bail before trial, a suspended sentence if convicted, or a longer sentence if sent to prison.<sup>59</sup> These discriminations may be seen as determinants of "discretion" by judges, juries, and police officers. The Constitution of New Zealand states that a defendant is "guilty." White New Zealanders, however, harbor "stereotypes" about the typical behavior of the Maori. If a Maori is accused of a crime of a certain sort, they may assume his guilt because they feel that "that's the way the Maori behave." Legal discrimination based on such stereotyping may produce civil rights of a more subtle nature as well. Dominant stereotypes of minority group members as being "just that way" may lead to a condoning of acts of violence. Since the victims of these acts are likely to be other minority group members, minority groups may find themselves without adequate legal and court protection against victimization by the majority. In a traditional southern community the white stereotype of the black man emphasizes the sexual promiscuity of the black man. It is very difficult, therefore, for a white judge to believe that a black woman could be raped, since it is assumed

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g Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 70(September, 1964):206-214.

in T. Turk, *Criminality and the Legal Order* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), p. 5+.

Maori "Amplification of Maori Crime"

g to be victimized by any and all comers.<sup>6</sup> Even that it is difficult to prosecute a rapist because of the victim's own culpability is perhaps even more of a problem for other minorities who are made to suffer in this and other ways by the indifference of law-enforcement officials who operate on a "technics" basis.

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

We discuss *social stratification*—that is, dominance and subordination in an area of social respectability—is virtually to deal with the various forms of social exclusions of ethnic minorities, since almost any exclusion, intentional or otherwise, may be experienced as a degradation of a person's human worth. Thus, the wage differential may not only fail to cover expenses for needed or desired goods, but may be defined by its recipient as a "slap in the face" if the amount is less than that paid to one's colleagues. To receive no better than oneself. We have already noted that the term *social worth* carries a connotation of negative respectability. Since the concept of differential social worth is so complex and multifaceted, we cannot attempt to cover the whole subject here. Instead, we shall focus on the major areas in which the "honor" of an ethnic people is degraded, in which discrimination is experienced as an assault on the self-dignity of members of minority groups.

## Discriminatory Etiquette

*Etiquette*—the body of rules that determines "proper" behavior in social situations—is likely to be defined in terms of how people of one category should treat members of other categories: a child should not talk back, a professor should try to learn the names of his students, a man should open the door for a lady, etc. A small portion of this body of rules is codified in books of etiquette, but most are simply part of the unwritten code in one's customary social milieu. Children learn these things by observation and adult guidance and so are not likely to blunder as, for example, when a child asks an adult

on only to be reminded by the adult's cool reaction that the code of etiquette has been violated.

Goffman has noted, there is a general tendency for people to treat one another in a way that protects the "face" or "face" of each individual.<sup>62</sup> While all people need to respectful treatment by others, clearly some are more entitled to claim this right. Goffman illustrates this fact by the example of the hospital situation, there is an asymmetrical or nonreciprocal relationship of "rights"—doctors have the right to touch nurses and patients, the right to touch patients, but patients do not have the right to touch doctors, and nurses do not have the right to touch patients. Goffman is here drawing upon Simmel's insight that a person's status is derived from that person's capacity to resist intrusion into his personal space, including familiar access to parts of his body.<sup>63</sup> The asymmetrical tendency in rules of etiquette is found in many other situations. For example, children are forbidden to call their parents by first names, while adults are forbidden to call children by first names.

Another dimension of discriminatory etiquette is the way it humiliates people in such situations is suggested by Goffman's analysis of *institutions* such as hospitals, military camps, and prisons. In these institutions, the higher honor attributed to staff persons over inmates is what Goffman calls an "echelon" relationship of authority. In a prison, the officer has the right to order any inmate.<sup>64</sup> Thus, any officer has the right to order any inmate.

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62. Goffman, "On Face-Work. An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 18(1955) 213-231. Also, on the fragility of a sense of self-worth and the need for a sustaining set of reactions by others, see Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

63. Goffman, "The Nature of Deference and Demeanor," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66(1960) 473-502.

64. Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mentally Ill People in the Community* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961), p. 321.

65. Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mentally Ill People in the Community* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1961), p. 321.



ansted man in the same vein any adult may take  
ect the behavior of any child, etc. If this thinking  
es of persons—that is, if upper-echelon (higher-class)  
have the right to receive shows of respect from lower  
persons—the psychological deprivation of belonging  
ser social honor becomes obvious. This is particularly  
s of the arrogance of some upper-echelon people with  
g subordinate people uncomfortable.

Many ethnic group members have experienced such  
ults on their personal dignity. The matter of names with  
ican southerners have long been accustomed to  
person be addressed by *any* black person as Mr., M  
white person can call *any* black person by a first na  
ingly, by the generic terms *boy* or *girl* (no matter wh  
person). Some strain is put on this etiquette when  
lower-class position must deal with blacks of di  
Johnson mentions one compromise in this situa  
n is obviously of too high a class to be called by  
-class white might refer to him as “professor”  
ation) without having to employ the more presti

## Participation in Symbolically Significant Social Activities

One of the scarce privileges that people strive for—ar  
entially distributed among people in different social  
r of participating in highly valued social activities.  
an honor to carry the flag in the school parade,  
ry in foreign wars, to represent one's country in in  
sts. To be excluded from an equal chance to enjo  
be defined as gross discrimination, and members  
s have complained of just such exclusion.  
ticipation in organized sports can provide a case  
nic stratification. One version of the world of sp  
rea where ethnic discrimination does *not* tend to l  
rs, coaches, and fans of athletic teams want their

atters not the ethnic origins of the players on the team. It is noted that members of some ethnic groups become heavily represented in professional sports precisely because sports careers are open to them whereas other "legitimate" careers are closed by virtue of their ethnicity. Thus, Weinberg and Arond show that Irish, Jewish, and Italian players have successively dominated professional boxing, and that the period of dominance of each of these groups coincided with the period in which the masses of these people were entering the American urban social environment—the period when the barriers to their entering other occupations was at its height. Other studies of other sports suggest quite different conclusions. For example, Baseball is often referred to as the "national sport," and it is a well-known fact that no black American played in the major leagues until Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier. The racism and Anglo-conformity may have served to keep baseball "pure" from contamination by "foreign" elements. However, it is found that there was a significant shift in the years following the passage of restrictive immigration legislation in reaction to the changes taking place in the world—in the pattern of recruitment of professional players.<sup>68</sup> Professional ball clubs of the nineteenth century were recruited mostly from northern urban areas; but with the turn of the century players were increasingly recruited from the rural South. The explanation is that the urban North came to be seen as the source of "un-American" (new immigration) while the rural South, relatively free of contamination, came to be seen as the more purely American source. The study also found almost no players in the early part of the twentieth century with Jewish or Jewish names, although there is some evidence that many of these ethnic origins Anglicized their names. Baltzell has observed that, even in a uniquely "American" institution, the motivation for success is not always American. A great many movie stars are of non-Anglo origin.

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erson Weinberg and Henry Arond, "The Occupational Culture of Professional Athletes," *American Journal of Sociology*, 57(1952):460-469.

D. Rose, "The Social Origins of American Baseball Players" (Paper presented at the meeting of Upstate New York Sociological Association, 1969).

by Baltzell *The Protestant Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1969).

professional names that usually conceal their ethnic background, deprive their ethnic peers of the pride of having been publicly identified as "our people." Even when minority group members participate actively in sports, athletes obviously do in the United States in professional sports—allegations and protests are sometimes raised in which they are allowed to participate tend to minimize the implications of the participation. Thus Edwards notes that blacks are often in positions of center, quarterback, and defensive linebacker, dramatic, or authoritative positions on a football team, while in baseball, the outfield, which requires the most skill and is least visible to the spectators, is where blacks are often placed.<sup>70</sup> The position of baseball pitcher, which is often the most visible, seems to be an exception to the rule of excluding blacks from positions of action. Edwards observes, however, that the pitcher, by winning or losing the game, has considerable influence on the defensive players on a baseball team, has considerable influence on winning or losing the game.<sup>71</sup> If winning is very important to sports teams and their fans, they may be willing to overlook the tendency to "honor" the dominant ethnic member in the position of pitcher, without regard to race, creed, or color.<sup>72</sup> A more subtle form of discrimination against blacks in sports has been noted in a study of playing patterns among college football players. Yetman and Eitzen find that black players on college football teams are overrepresented among the starters and less represented among the substitutes or those who sit on the bench for most of the game. The interpretation offered is that, to be selected for a team, a black player must be "as good" as a white. Thus, only those blacks of outstanding ability are accepted.

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Edward S. Edwards, *The Sociology of Sports* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1968), p. 100.  
<sup>70</sup> D. Rose, "The Attribution of Responsibility for Organizational Failure," *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 53(1969), 323-332 shows that while players of other ethnicities are more likely to have their careers terminated during a team's "failing" season, predominantly of the success or failure of the teams for which they played.  
<sup>71</sup> Former black professional basketball player, Bill Russell, has noted that there is (with a touch of black chauvinism) the variability in the willingness of a team represented by blacks. According to Russell, the formula for playing at home, three on the road, and five if the team is behind in the fourth quarter, is a common practice. Edwards, *Sports*, p. 211.

<sup>72</sup> Norman R. Yetman and D. Stanley Eitzen, "Black Athletes in American Sports: An Empirical Test of Discrimination," in *Normalcy and Minority* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), p. 100.

make the team, whereas whites of only mediocre talent have the opportunity to travel with the team—primarily for the “honor” of the team, since they so seldom play. There may be some flaw in this interpretation. It could even be suggested that the predominance of black first-string players may be a kind of discrimination in reverse: that those relatively few black team members have a competitive advantage over whites in their chance to play if, for instance, the college feels a need to demonstrate a nondiscriminatory policy. Seeing black athletes sitting on a bench while whites are playing may be suggestive of racial discrimination, so *some* blacks are played to achieve token integration. If there are only one or two black players on a squad, it may well be that a black player who is only “half as good” as a white bench sitter is played to satisfy integrationist demands.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The apparent fact of somewhat lesser representation of blacks on collegiate and professional football teams than on basketball teams would perhaps support this interpretation. A football team typically has twenty-two starters (eleven on an offensive unit and eleven on a defensive unit) while a basketball team has only five starters. Thus token racial integration is achieved on a football team with a much smaller proportion of blacks as starters than on a basketball team.

## APTER 6

# ORIGIN AND MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

## ORIGIN OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

A sociological analysis of the origins of any of the kinds of stratification discussed in the last chapter must begin with an unequivocal rejection of the view that these inequalities are based on any inherent inferiority of the peoples of different racial stocks.<sup>1</sup> Rather, it is in the particular circumstances and situations of ethnic peoples in contact with one another that the causes must be sought.

### Three-Factor Theory

This will serve as a convenient starting point for our analysis to the next effort to formulate a theory of the origin of ethnic stratification. I have postulated that three factors are both necessary and sufficient

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For a typical social scientific statement on the matter, see M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Race: A Social Myth*, 4th ed. (New York: World, 1964).

<sup>1</sup> I. L. Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," *Social Problems* 10: 157-172.

in why, when present, relationships of dominance arise between ethnic peoples in contact, and why, when egalitarian relationships tend to prevail. The three factors are *competition*, and *differential power*. "Competition provides the motivation for stratification; ethnocentrism provides competition along ethnic lines; and the power differential determines whether either group will be able to subordinate the other." As a "test" of his theory, Noel examined the emergence of ethnic stratification in colonial America. There is a growing consensus among historians that in 1600, the condition of blacks was not too unlike that of white indentured servants. Over a period of several decades, however, blacks were increasingly subordinated into a condition of complete servitude, while the indentured servants were increasingly able to gain freedom and escape a slavlike condition. This stratification forms the basis of the theory.

**Ethnocentrism.** Although, as we observed above, in-group and out-group concepts are not part of the sociologist's arsenal of concepts, they are often found in everyday life. Many people really believe that their own custom are inferior by nature to persons in their contact. To use Sumner's definition, "one's own group is the center of comparison and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it." The difference between ingroup and outgroup is the difference of the outgroup by the ingroup. In applying this concept to the condition of servitude of blacks and whites, Noel found that the initial element in determining blackness was such color as religion. Europeans were especially prone to see non-Christians, that is, as non-Christian and, therefore, as inferior. A white European indentured servant was at least acknowledged as a Christian, however poor.

The factor of ethnocentrism is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the differential social treatment in the United States of immigrants from different countries of origin. The acts excluding Orientals (Chinese in 1882, Japanese in 1924) reflected a feeling of "yellow" peoples, as well as a large element of prejudice.

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"A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," p. 157.

petition from such people.<sup>5</sup> The quotas established by the Immigration Act of 1924 based the allowable immigration from a certain country on a certain percentage of the number of people from that country who had been in the United States, a formula designed to limit the immigration of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who came in large numbers. These latter immigrants were very likely to be Catholic or Jewish, to speak languages other than English. They experienced much discrimination of every sort than did immigrants from countries where the majority language, and other social institutions were more familiar to the "Anglo-Saxon" country like the United States. It could be argued that the factor of ethnocentrism is necessary as a condition for the subordination of ethnic minorities. However, later to the possibility of discrimination "without prejudice" is the possibility of discrimination simply by virtue of the fact that dominant groups are prejudiced by the subordination of minorities and that the knowledge of this gain is sufficient to stimulate the effort to subordinate minorities. At this point, the prejudices arising from ethnocentrism are not a necessary phenomenon, an attempt by dominants to justify the subordination of minorities with a clear conscience—in other words, the knowledge that the dominants will be able to sleep at night, but not without bad dreams.

**Competition.** According to Noel, ethnic groups come into existence only when they must strive against one another for the enjoyment of certain goals that are in limited supply, whether such goals be material, power, or prestige. Sometimes two ethnic groups in contact are in competition, since the groups are striving for different goals. The accomplishment of its goals does not interfere with the accomplishment of its pursuit of its goals. A frequently cited example is the relationship between the Manchurian peoples in Manchuria who are able to live in a mutually equalitarian relation with one another because of their different cultural people, do not compete with but rather cooperate with the Tungus, a nomadic hunting people.

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5. M. Petersen, *Japanese Americans* (New York: Random House, 1968) 1-4. A summary of the history of restrictive immigration legislation in the United States is given by E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Macmillan & Co. 1972) pp. 1-4-26.

eer.<sup>7</sup> The low level of anti-Semitic feeling among  
des another example. Since most Italian immigrants  
came from peasant backgrounds and tended to p  
rs in America, whereas Jews, both in Italy and t  
ed mercantile occupations, there has been little con  
vo groups either in Italy or the United States.<sup>8</sup>  
ore frequently, however, ethnic groups in contact a  
competition has led to conflict over which group is  
e noted in the last chapter, relations between black a  
have been strained by the dominance of Jewish m  
os and the feeling of many would-be black entrepre  
rship of retail businesses deprives black people  
eural opportunities.<sup>9</sup> Gans has given a similar inte  
gle in the New York City schools during the late 19  
community control, which became largely a conflic  
ews.<sup>10</sup> Blacks in New York City apparently expect  
lished their numerical dominance in a given ne  
d come to dominate neighborhood institutions as w  
cord with the usual "succession" process in America  
e ethnic group moves out, the newcomers take ov  
ter 5, however, white retail merchants tended *not*  
turned black. Ghetto schools experienced a simi  
y concentration of Jews in the teaching profession  
"k" schools having predominantly Jewish staffs. Ma  
ituation deprived black teachers of employment op  
nation they had hoped to reduce by community co  
ices in the neighborhood schools.

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J. Lindgren, "An Example of Culture Contact Without Conflict  
cks of Northwestern Manchuria," *American Anthropologist*, 4  
lysis of this and other examples of noncompetitive or "symbio  
groups, see Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Ba

h Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 19  
so-called black anti-Semitism is largely confined to negative ste  
cks in the area of *economic* behavior is indicated in Gertrude  
erg, *The Tenacity of Prejudice* (New York: Harper & Row, 19

bert J. Gans, "Negro-Jewish Conflict in New York City. A Socio  
d E. Gelfan and Russell D. Lee (eds.), *Ethnic Conflicts and Pow  
ctive* New York: Wiley 1973 pp 218-230



h-Americans and Italian-Americans have also been  
y over which ethnic group would come to control t  
hurch in the United States. In cities such as Boston,  
s have changed from Irish to Italian dominance, th  
s competition, during the period of transition, for  
"11

ain we may question whether one of Noel's fact  
petition—is *necessary* for the emergence of ethnic  
erghe has argued that there are at least two forms o  
systems.<sup>12</sup> One is based on *competition*, in which  
me groups to monopolize privilege at the expense  
en as "dangerous." The other is based on *paternalis*  
r to that of parents to children, in which the paren  
of protecting the children and the children in turn  
respect to the parents. While parents and child  
etitive with one another in most situations, neither  
equalitarian. Likewise, minority groups are no less  
the dominant group treats their inferiority with b  
el's own interpretation fails to make clear the ro  
een blacks and whites in colonial America, or at lea  
s and white slaveowners, whose attitudes and action  
bel. The usual interpretation is that the enslavemen  
conomic interest (and Noel adds in the *status* inte  
cracy rather than in response to any demands by  
d be the only possible economic competitors of t  
pretation shares this view, although he must stretc  
*petition* to cover the situation in which there is a "u  
e group's subordinating another. (Thus, a rich mar  
be "noncompetitive" in that they strive for differe  
strives perhaps for possession of a more commodio  
the poor man hopes to be able to furnish his hom  
oor and a picture on the wall—to cite Lyndon Joh  
for the antipoverty program. Still, the presence o

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eatro, *Italian Americans*, pp 110–113.

e L. van den Berghe, "Paternalistic versus Competitive Race Re  
ach," in Bernard E. Segal (ed.), *Racial and Ethnic Relations* S  
New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972, pp 24–38.

ing or forced to work at minimum wages, may be one of the reasons for the luxurious life style of the rich man, who may require, for example, maintain the grounds of his estate.) The explanation of why indigenous Indians in many places escaped the fate of enslaved blacks is made on similar grounds. Indians tended to adapt poorly as laborers in the mining and plantation operations favored by European colonizers, and were viewed as a "nonutilitarian" labor supply. Blacks proved more adaptable in these situations, much to their own worst interests. Such "utilitarian" perceptions of an ethnic minority as a source of "competition," then Noel's competition factor covers a large part of the story in the American colonies. Perhaps this stretches the original concept of competition, but there may be an additional factor of considerable importance. Some such term as *exploitation* might more directly express the nature of this factor.

**Differential power.** For one group of people to dominate another is obviously necessary that the dominants have not only the ability to establish their superiority (as is emphasized with the economic competition factors), but the power or "muscle" to do so. Which group becomes dominant often depends on which has the better complements of warfare. The conquest of native peoples by the more advanced Europeans is most obviously a case in point. Noel's analysis moves from truism to insight with the case of indentured servants in America, but not black slaves. The lack of an external source of power—the attitudes of the dominant toward the dominant Americans. Mistreatment of blacks would be self-defeating for employers. If indentured servants brought the word back to their countrymen—"For God's sake, come here"—sources of additional domestic labor would be increased. If the country governments could bring pressure to bear on the slave states in America, an especially important factor, perhaps in a country striving for recognition among the nations of the world.

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of the nonadaptability of Indians to the slave condition may have been the case of blacks but not of Indians to enter into servile relations with whites. As 1634, European travelers to South America were being advised to avoid contact with them as there were no Indians in Buenos Aires that could be used. Frank Tannenbaum *Slave and Citizen* New York: Knopf

is some doubt whether Noel's theory provides the "unifying framework" for explaining Mexican-American relations. McLemore believes it does. The element of competition between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans seems especially important. Of McLemore's observation that most Mexicans were of lower-class origins while most Americans were of middle-class origins, direct Anglo-Mexican competition must have been limited to a few large Mexican landowners who undoubtedly resisted the "land grab" in Texas. Whether or not Mexicans constituted a "humanitarian" interest to Anglos is left undefined.<sup>17</sup> Like Noel, little attention is given to the external power sources of the Mexican Revolution. McLemore observes that Mexico, after the loss of Texas, "displayed great concern for the welfare of her citizens within the territory of the United States,"<sup>18</sup> but there is no indication that this "concern" had any telling effect on the treatment of Mexicans in the United States. Indeed, the relative national power of Mexico would lead one to doubt the practical impact of this concern.

## MECHANISMS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF ETHNIC STRATIFICATION

We have been discussing the question of how ethnic groups achieve a high or low place in a system of stratification. Now we turn to the question of how these positions are maintained. We turn now to a related, but nevertheless distinct question: What are the forces that tend to maintain ethnic groups in their positions? In analyzing these mechanisms, a distinction will be made between those that arise from (1) dominant-group attitudes and actions, (2) subordinate-group attitudes and actions, and (3) structural or institutional forces that may not express the wishes of either dominant or subordinate groups.

### Dominant Group Behavior

The degree to which a privileged ethnic group is determined by its own behavior and the degree to which its privileges at the expense of minorities is obviously determined by the behavior of the dominant group. While it is probably true, as Legum says, that

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heavy use by Anglo farm owners of immigrant Mexicans as labor. That, indeed, the subordination of Mexicans has been quite "utilitarian."

ty—white or black or brown—has ever voluntarily  
leges at one fell swoop,"<sup>19</sup> some groups have moved  
tion than have others. This is apparent, for example,  
colonial countries toward the political aspirations of  
le of their colonies. The British have been far more  
the French to the idea that someday, when the nation  
under British tutelage, they would gain full rights to  
the British would then withdraw.<sup>20</sup> Given such variation,  
to look for some lines of explanation of dominant  
maintaining the dominant position.

**Expediency of ethnic stratification.** One source  
s on whether or not dominant groups really "gain" from  
ordination of minorities. Dollard's analysis of black-  
thern town suggests that whites do, indeed, gain from  
n. Specifically, whites gain a supply of labor to do  
work; they gain a whole category of persons whom  
r how lowly in social status, can look down on. They  
gain sexual access to black women while ruthless  
rocal sexual access of black men to white women.  
ions, there can be little doubt that the natives win  
us ways, especially as a labor supply for the mining  
prises of the colonists.

me of the "equality revolutions" that we shall be  
chapter may reflect a loss of will of dominants  
nance. More specifically, in terms of the "gains" of  
ncreasingly be that the perceived "cost" of securing  
ome dominant groups to conclude that it "isn't worth  
dominance. Some of this cost may be psychic in na  
possibility that dominants *do* have "bad dreams" or  
t their subordination practices. Myrdal's formulation  
ma suggested, as has been suggested by many other  
em" in the United States is really a "white problem

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Legume, "Color and Power in the South African Situation,"  
483-495.

o Mason. *Patterns of Dominance* (London: Oxford University

Dollard. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. Garden C

white Americans trying to reconcile continued racial discrimination with the "American creed" as reflected in the "all men are created equal" clause of the Declaration of Independence, or with the principle of the rights of the minority and the ultimate goal of the integration of blacks as full-fledged citizens.<sup>22</sup> The economic "costs" of ethnic discrimination are more immediate and tangible. Slavery was abolished in many places apparently because slave owners developed consciences, but because slavery was an efficient mode of organizing human labor. Likewise, segregation against blacks may be defined as costly to whites because the whole economy suffers from the underutilization of the talents of a large part of the population.<sup>23</sup> The cost of racial discrimination in the loss of international influence or goodwill is also evident in the underdeveloped countries of the Third World. The fear of racial discrimination in the United States. The competition with international communism, wants to attract these peoples. Consequently, many Americans have reached the conclusion that this cost of racial subordination is too high. Finally, a perception of cost may arise from the demands of minorities in demanding a reduction in the cost of racial discrimination. Such colonial policy, as indicated above, did not envisage the independence of French colonies in Africa and Asia. However, the native revolts in Indochina and Algeria led them to the conclusion that these wars could not be sustained. The withdrawal from former colonies often took place because the colonies themselves determined that these colonies (e.g., Cyprus, India) were not ready enough for self-determination. However, the passive resistance movement led by Gandhi wrenched the British, thus hastening the decision of Great Britain to withdraw from its empire under the spur of such costs. An additional point should be made about the major costs of ethnic discrimination. The gainers and losers from a system of ethnic stratification.

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Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944). Myrdal does show, however, that there is a sense in which white people "benefit" from the presence of a large black population to do the dirty work. The distribution of income is unevenly distributed however. Lower-class whites gain little, while the upper class gains the decided advantage of having a supply of relatively cheap labor.

ent groups *within* a dominant ethnic group. They have relatively little to gain (and that mostly in, as Willard noted) from black subordination and much to gain from forming coalitions along lines of economic self-interest of all races against the rich of all races. Employers, of course, have much to gain from cheap labor (with, of course, the exception of relative inefficiency of untrained labor). By the 1950s, the living in France had much to gain (except for a sense of "pride") from continued suppression of the Algerians. He was recalled from retirement with a mandate to deal with settlers in Algeria, however, correctly anticipating that their claims would be expropriated by a nativist government. His role in ending the war was as much a matter of "pacification" in Algeria as in dealing with leaders of the nationalist movement. The basis, then, of ethnic subordination based on the common interests of dominant groups in maintaining the subordination of subordinate groups. The *differentiated* interests of the various groups within the dominant group, and the relative power of these groups to determine dominant group policy.

**Logical considerations: Dominant group prejudice.** The question of whether dominant group members justify their dominance in terms of any perceived inherent inferiority of subordinate peoples. We shall consider here the element of "racialist" group beliefs in the inferiority of subordinate races and the commitment to the continued subordination of those races.<sup>24</sup> We shall deal with the complex question of the relationship between *prejudice* and the degree of *discrimination* against subordinate groups.

What is called white racism in the United States will serve as the basis. The black slavery that preceded the Civil War and

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... with our practice throughout this book of treating race as one of the defining characteristics of ethnic peoplehood—religion and national origin. It would be desirable if there were some term other than *racism* to refer to the dominant ethnic groups in the inherent inferiority of subordinate ones. Like "ethnicism," the term *racism* will be used to cover any discrimination so that, for example, the tendency of some Caucasian Americans to regard Jews as "dumb Polacks" or "pushy Jews" would be covered by

Jim Crow laws that developed in the aftermath of Reconstruction by whites in the belief that blacks were essentially non-human. The three-fifths compromise at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, whereby a state's representation in Congress was determined by counting a free person as one and a black slave as three-fifths of a person, was, of course, arrived at by political negotiation between states with many and those with few black slaves. The compromise does serve as a symbol for the degree of humanization of blacks. Even this modicum of humanity was seemingly rejected in 1857 in the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, which pronounced the ultimate in black subordination by stating that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." This embodied in this mode of thought eventually found expression in the racialized rejection of people who are racially different as being of inferior stock. In a study of evolving American attitudes toward the "new immigration" from southern and eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century, Higham shows how the "romanticized" view of the country—a kind of smug Anglo-Saxon superiority—demanded all aliens to assimilate to an Anglo-Saxon mold—leading to the development of a new "science" of racial biology, to develop the idea that immigrants were of inferior racial stock and a threat to the traditional Anglo-Saxon stock.<sup>26</sup>

Recent studies of white racism in the United States suggest changes in the form if not the substance of racist justification for discrimination. One of these changes—discussed later—is the emergence of a "latent" form of racism without explicit ideological justification. Evidence can be found in white responses to such questions as: "Are blacks as intelligent as whites?" Public opinion surveys show that whites overwhelmingly affirm the equality of native abilities of blacks.

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<sup>26</sup> The background of official attitudes toward blacks that led to the Dred Scott decision is explored in Leon Litwack, "The Federal Government and the Free Negro," *Journal of Negro History*, 43 (October, 1958), 261–278.

<sup>27</sup> Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1880–1960* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955). For a description of white attitudes toward Jews with the influx of Jewish immigration at the beginning of the twentieth century and toward coloured people during the more recent heavy immigration from the British Isles to England, see John A. Garrard, "Parallels of Prejudice: Jewish and Commonwealth Immigration," *Race* 9 (July 1967), 47.

marked change from attitudes expressed thirty or forty years ago. At the same time, however, whites tend to blame blacks for their continued subordinate position, believing that blacks lack initiative and responsibility. Many American "white ethnics" make comparisons of the passiveness or "bitching" of contemporary blacks and the actions of their own immigrant ancestors, who came to America and made something of themselves. In terms of social determinism, whites do not accept the "deterministic" view of social structure. The condition of a person or group of persons is "caused" by their environment.<sup>28</sup> The popular view is that a person can overcome his environment that he "wills," and the failure to achieve is ascribed to individual fail-

ure. To complete this discussion of dominant group prejudice and social stratification, we should examine the relative importance of authoritative attitudes and actions as they reflect the cultural values of the people. Sometimes the official (e.g., governmental) policy is one of explicit discrimination against ethnic minorities. The institutionalized racial policy of *apartheid* in South Africa has been a classic example. During of authoritative "explanations" by government officials and intellectuals, explanations that embody, more or less, the assertion that the native is inferior and poses a threat to the dominant position if there is any racial intermingling.<sup>29</sup> In other societal contexts, the official policy may be one of non-discrimination, although the rank-and-file dominant group members may implement the policy may harbor many prejudicial feelings. The question is whether official policy can be effective in the absence of public opinion. One viewpoint is that "you can't legislate morality" and force people against their wills to practice nondiscrimination. There is some evidence in support of this viewpoint. The "massive resistance" taken by southern American whites against enforcement of desegregation has had some success, but also a considerable degree of failure. To cite a less familiar case, Communist Czech

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Frederic A. Schwartz, *Trends in White Attitudes Toward Negroes* (New York: Social Research Center, 1967).

David Schuman, "Free Will and Determinism in Public Beliefs About Race," in David Schuman and C. Hoy Steele (eds.), *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial Relations* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), pp. 382-390.

See L. van den Berghe, *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (Middleton, Wis.: American Society of Humanists, 1967).



al policy of nondiscrimination against ethnic minorities, who represent a sizable ethnic minority in this country, at a time of popular prejudice and discrimination against them. Discrimination is actually *supported* in a somewhat indirect manner by official policy. In a Communist state, the expectations of the gypsies, while retaining the form of their traditional life style, are to practice this style with a socialist content. Those who refuse to conform are seen as being especially recalcitrant toward adoption of the new system and *do* suffer official discrimination. Also, Party officials *do* reflect local prejudices in their actions. Local authorities, the so-called People's Committees—are responsible for the allocation of housing space among applicants. In the face of the housing scarcity, they tend to yield to local demands that non-gypsy members be favored over gypsy applicants. According to reports, officials in the capital exhort local officials to implement the nondiscriminatory policy, but local officials complain that "you people in the capital don't know the gypsies like we do and, of course, don't know the pressures exerted by one's immediate neighbors." The substance of the complaint of local officials in the United States is that the federal government's civil rights legislation that "you people in Washington" bureaucrats at HEW who write guidelines for racial discrimination in the language of the traveling salesman, "know that the more closely political officials must deal with local prejudices as defined by local prejudices, the more difficult it is to implement official policy."<sup>31</sup>

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Ulc, "Communist National Minority Policy: The Case of the Gypsies," *Soviet Studies*, 20(April, 1969):421-433.

A parallel to this situation is furnished in the action of Protestant ministers in Little Rock, Arkansas, during that city's school integration crisis. Although the denials of the Protestant churches had made pronouncements in favor of integration, the ministers (and primarily only those younger ministers not planning to leave the ministry for any active support to the integrationist side of the controversy. The influence of the local ministers to the attitudes of their white parishioners was a direct result of the "success"—and therefore future career prospects—of Protestant ministers in their ability to keep a local congregation "happy" as reflected, for example, in church membership rolls and increased financial support for the church. A minister's failure to win a local constituency by taking a liberal stance, even though in strict accordance with the teachings of his denomination, stood to lose this local support and was often regarded by *himself* as a failure as a minister. Ernest Q. Campbell and Morris C. Smith, "The Role of Little Rock Ministers," *American*

is view that "you can't legislate morality," especially be countered with much evidence to the contrary by persons—whether officials or ordinary citizens—both prejudiced nondiscriminators or "fairweather" in circumstances.<sup>32</sup> The general rule seems to be that a member asserts a right in a direct confrontation with a dominant group member, and the minority group member wins the law, then that right will be granted. The intransigent fox, who handed out ax handles to his white customers to prevent racial integration, is rare indeed. The directness of the confrontation is apparently a prerequisite. To demonstrate this effect, LaPiere traveled with a Chinese couple and was never refused hotel accommodations in this "mixed" situation, however, when he wrote letters and asked whether accommodations would be available in other circumstances, most replies were negative.<sup>33</sup> It is a contradiction to reject someone in a "Dear John" letter than in a direct confrontation.

The importance of statutory backing has also been demonstrated by Kohn and Williams, blacks who were collaborators who entered restaurants to which blacks had never been admitted while white collaborators observed the ensuing confrontations. They reported that the restaurant managers, aware of the new accommodations laws against discrimination and of the pressure from their white customers toward racial integration, vacillated. Although managers sometimes ejected blacks when whites expressed disapproval, the management of one restaurant was so lenient that a civil rights "case" was made with the support of the NAACP. It appears, then, that nondiscrimination can be achieved only in the face of opposition, but perhaps only under special conditions of direct confrontation and statutory backing, conditions that, because of ignorance of legal rights, or lack of funds to pursue legal action, are often difficult conditions to realize. The fundamental

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Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in *Racial Discrimination and National Welfare* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 1-14.  
L. A. LaPiere, "Attitudes vs. Actions," *Social Forces* 13(1934): 155-162.  
L. Kohn and Robin M. Williams, "Situational Patterning in

permanent implementation of a nondiscriminatory policy. Will more or less forced nondiscrimination lead to a similar "massive resistance"? Two lines of analysis are possible.

First, as we noted in Chapter 4, when people are brought into contact with members of a different race or ethnicity—regardless of their wills in equal-status contacts with whites—as would be the case if black workers were hired to work alongside whites on an assembly line—this contact reduces social distance by reducing unrealistic stereotypes. Second, and this analysis involves a more subtle psychological process—"cognitive dissonance" associated with forced attitude reduction.<sup>35</sup> Most experiments in cognitive dissonance involve subjects in situations in which they must do something that they would like to be doing or feel they should be doing. For example, people who hate spinach are told—and sometimes paid—to eat it, creating a tendency toward dissonance reduction in human beings. Cognitive dissonance theorists note that a person can bring his or her self-perceptions into balance *either* by ceasing the activity, *or* by ceasing to view the activity as objectionable, *or*, by making a virtue of necessity. The "fairweather" who is forced to practice nondiscrimination might, at the end of the day, restore cognitive balance by resuming the discrimination. If the forces arrayed against discrimination are too powerful for a person to resist, when a really tough equal opportunity enforcement official cancels a government contract—he may have to restore balance by changing his prejudicial attitudes. From a "fair weather" liberal, he may become a self-regulating ethnic liberal. Although difficult to enforce nondiscrimination if it runs contrary to the prejudices of a people, there is at least sociological warfare possible. While coercion may initially be necessary, discrimination can eventually be greatly reduced for the two groups involved.

**Minority Group Attitudes Toward Subordination**  
Attention now shifts to an examination of the characteristics of minority group members as explanations of their own continued subordination in any respect subscribing to the new form of

d blame minorities for their own condition,<sup>36</sup> it is s  
in which minorities self-enforce a weakened powe  
l situations.

**Internalization of dominant group prejudices.** A  
in social psychology is that human beings tend to  
d themselves that they find expressed in the a  
d them.<sup>37</sup> If the attitudes of dominant group me  
rity group members are inferior people, then these r  
easily develop some of the attitudes of self-hatred d  
There are many subtle ways in which minority gr  
the message of their inferior social worth. A freque  
nts is the allegedly prejudicial treatment of ethnic  
als, especially in books written for school childre  
re treated as savages with few admirable human qu  
ted in stereotyped submissive social roles, or slave  
er idyllic time for blacks, implying that a slave condi  
atible with the black's "nature."<sup>38</sup> Such prejudic  
c character are indirectly harmful because they in  
members who, in turn, convey these negative attitu  
oup members with whom they deal. Such depic  
ful because they deprive minority group children  
d heritage. Only very recently have school book pu  
iously eradicate such harmful stereotypes from th

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author is, frankly, about as hardnosed a determinist in explainin  
y wish to find. From this viewpoint, behavior is always caused  
ditional factors, and our tendency to blame someone whose "fre  
or is really an admission of failure to understand the complex sit  
a given instance of human behavior. It might be added, for th  
author is also something of a functionalist or pragmatist who v  
es of "correction" of unwanted forms of behavior, it may be nex  
n or group of persons is "responsible" for that kind of behavior.  
sive to social control, to hold some persons responsible for the  
perpetuation of those sins become the sins of the fathers of  
ge Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society* (Chicago: Univers

ome examples of such stereotypical treatments of Indians and  
o, Jewish, and Oriental Americans, see Lewis H. Carlson and  
r Place *White America Defines He Minorities 1850-1950*

**accommodative reactions to subordination.** It appears to the outsider to reflect self-hatred may, a tactic for survival in a situation of unequal power. Because minority group members neither "wince nor flinch" in the face of domination by dominant group members does not mean that it means, rather, that they have learned not to react. To use to express it would only worsen the suppression. Minority ethnics are not only required to take it, they are required to appear to like it. This appearance of "liking" it is often misread as self-hatred by some.

Poussaint, a black psychiatrist, denies that black people's reaction to their humiliation by whites is a matter of blind acceptance. He described an incident of personal humiliation in which a white man ordered him to "come here, boy." His sense of shame was heightened, he said, by the fact that he was in the presence of a black woman. (Black men, Poussaint noted, have always been concerned with establishing their credentials of masculinity in the face of white domination. In the face of humiliations to their personal dignity they suffer in their social behavior.) Reflecting on the above incident, Poussaint realized that he was in a truly dangerous situation in which he might have been killed had he not acquiesced. Thus, he concluded that the "white man" is a survival tactic practiced by black people in the white world.<sup>40</sup>

Willard's study of blacks in a southern town emphasizes the "accommodation attitudes" of blacks in the face of whites, blacks adopt a "white folks manner" to conform to the white stereotype of the black as a happy-go-lucky, content, inefficient individual. That such attitudes are

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F. Poussaint, "A Negro Psychiatrist Explains the Negro Psychology," *Black World*, August 29, 1967. Reprinted in Yetman and Steele, *Major Themes*, 56.

Italian-Americans are another ethnic group whose members have accepted a lowered social position. Mario Puzo, author of *The Godfather*, asserts that Italian-Americans never push into positions of power (adding the comment that one place they know they are not wanted). He atomizes the attitude of many Italian-Americans by comparing them to a Carl Sandburg poem about whom it was said, "He et what was said of him / That he was a / Italian / an Style." *New York Times Magazine*, August 1967. See also, *Godfather and Godmother in a Southern Town*.

ed but are "put on" as a way of manipulating the  
's advantage is indicated by the fact that blacks exp  
s a great deal of derision of white people and tell st  
low blacks have gotten the better of a white in  
ion. Of course, blacks must refrain from explicit  
minatory system of etiquette, lest severe sanction  
A black woman explains how she deals with white  
You know there is a way of being so polite to white  
almost impolite. I say polite things, but I look at them  
smile, and while what I am saying is polite, the way  
it isn't.<sup>42</sup>

tably absent in Dollard's Southerntown, then, was  
of protest or defiance of the discriminatory racial system  
st the system that could not be resolved in subterranean  
ger against whites tended to be channeled into a  
st "safe" targets, that is, against other blacks. This  
e high level of verbal and physical violence expressed  
ag with one another.<sup>43</sup> This pattern of deflected verbal  
observed in a game called "playing the dozens,"  
to outdo one's opponent in trading insults.<sup>44</sup> Rain  
residents in St. Louis contains a graphic transcription  
n in which there are endless variations on the insult  
d your mother. . . ."<sup>45</sup>

e interracial atmosphere in the urban North has, over  
years quite different from that in Dollard's Southern  
43, Johnson was reporting the results of interviews  
s were telling whites in no uncertain terms that the  
g to "take it" in terms of traditional humiliations.

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les S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (New York: Har  
r stratification situation, an army enlisted man informs a buddy  
geants) that "if you call an officer 'sir,' you can tell him anyt  
commented in the last chapter on an additional possible reason  
blacks, the reluctance of police and courts to treat these as 'v  
r P. Abrahams, "Playing the Dozens," *Journal of American Fol  
20.*

Rainwater, *Behind Ghetto Walls* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972), pp  
son *Pa te ns of Negro Segregation*

has developed a "cool," hedonistic life style and in the North and South, that might be seen as an alternative to the traditional subordination. Living life for its kicks,<sup>47</sup> being unable to structure one's life according to any long-range plan of achievement, reflects accommodative tendencies among blacks aimed at coping with their low position in the system of ethnic stratification.

**Additional ethnic values.** Whether members of minority groups remain in socially subordinated positions or improve their status over a period of time depends partly on the emphasis placed on "success" in their traditional ethnic life styles. Japanese and American Jews have been notably successful in attaining high positions, at least economically. In the case of Japanese, it has been noted that there were basic values of traditional Japanese culture—thrift, orderliness, etc.—that facilitated Japanese success in American society dominated by the Protestant ethic. In a comparative study of Jews and Italian-Americans, Gans lists several reasons for the greater success of the Jews in attaining high status in the United States. For one thing, Jewish immigrants placed great emphasis on schooling and intellectual achievement. Further, Jews tended to exhibit a future-oriented concern for the welfare of themselves and their children (as opposed to the present-oriented tendency among Italians).<sup>51</sup> It might be added, in light of the prevalence of "pain behavior" among patients in a Veterans Affairs Hospital, that this future-oriented tendency of Jews takes the form of worrying about the future (rather than the optimistic

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Gold Finestone, "Cats, Kicks and Color," *Social Problems*, 5(1957):10-20.  
Horton, "Time and Cool People," *Trans-action*, 4(April, 1966):1-10.  
In a similar way, Sykes has noted that prisoners tend to disapprove of the defiant protestor, the "ball buster," in favor of the prisoner who is more reserved and who servers that he can "take it" without being "taken in" by the guards and captors. The honor accorded this "cool" type prisoner is indicative of the characterization of such prisoners as "real men." Gresham Sykes, *The Society of Sentenced Men* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971).

Sam Caudill and George De Vos, "Achievement, Culture and Personality among Japanese Americans," *American Anthropologist*, 58(1956):1102-1112.  
L. Strodbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," in *Journal of Social Issues: Socia Patterns of an American Group* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 1-15.

of the "old Americans"). This tendency to worry more about the future where success is based on a willingness to take risks in a favorable future outcome.<sup>52</sup>

American Indians and Spanish-speaking Americans are two groups that have been described as having a present-oriented orientation that supposedly retards social advancement.<sup>53</sup> Oscar Lewis, in his study of the social attitudes of the poor, has suggested that we can give an ethnic interpretation to such values. Lewis postulated a "culture of poverty" in the United States (and other parts of the world) marked by, among other things, a fatalistic acceptance of the status quo, with no expectation of improvement in the future. Lewis believed this culture embraces the poor of all ethnic groups. A study of poor families in California attempted to test the validity of this hypothesis by comparing equally poor blacks, Anglos, and Hispanics. The authors found that the "poverty" attitudes described by Lewis were more typical of the Spanish-speaking than of the Anglo-American. Lewis not based his generalization on studies of American and Puerto Rican groups only, the authors could not have asserted the noninfluence of an ethnic factor.

**Persistence of dependency relations.** It sometimes happens that minority group members are reluctant to take advantage of opportunities for more equalitarian relations if they have developed a "habit" of dependency,<sup>56</sup> which they find difficult to break. This "habit" is often the result of previous experiences of the minority group with a dominant group. Although many American Indians complained about

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52 Zborowski, *People in Pain* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).  
53 See R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientation* (New York: Free Press, 1961).

54 Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific American*, 215 (October 1967).  
55 M. Ireland, Oliver C. Moles, and Robert M. O'Shea, "Ethnicity, Poverty, and the Culture of Poverty Hypothesis," *Social Forces*, 54 (1975), 13.  
56 Likewise it was shown that, when the variable of metropolitan area residence was controlled for, the poor and the nonpoor among Spanish-speaking Americans showed about the same degree of "culture of poverty" values, suggesting that the influence of class over an ethnic influence for this group. Nancy G. Kutner, "The Poverty Culture Hypothesis: An Ethnic and Metropolitan-Nonmetropolitan Comparison," *Social Forces*, 54 (1975), 250-268.



ent's paternalistic treatment of them in the past, the more bitter about the recent "termination" of government of their interests. The frequent stories of freed slaves who left the service of their masters after emancipation are often embellished by southern sentimentality, but they have a basis in historical fact. Native people who have lived in hierarchical societies in which the masses of people were subject to dominant traditional rulers, somewhat like the feudal societies of Europe, are not particularly disoriented by contact with colonialism. The transition is simply meant exchanging one set of masters for another. It is noted, for example, that natives of Madagascar attempted to exchange relations of total dependence with Europeans, a relationship which the Europeans were inclined to reject.<sup>57</sup> European employment contracts with native employees tend to be narrowly circumscribed, reflecting an employer-employee relation, while the native employees show a diffuse commitment by both sides. Thus European employers are often grudging or demanding, while the natives see the Europeans as responsive to their efforts to involve themselves in the modern world of the Europeans, and the Europeans in their own lives.

## **Institutional Discrimination**

The social forces that deprive ethnic groups of the opportunity to move to their power position may emanate not from the actions of the dominant or minority groups but from discriminations built into the social structure.<sup>58</sup> The basic formula for explaining this structural discrimination is that social arrangements that reflect a preexisting dominant position of certain groups of people tend to persist even when the will to maintain that position has vanished.

To illustrate, let us consider the continued discrimination against African Americans in the area of employment. Even though equal employment policies have become the standard in many organizations, African Americans continue to be underemployed in the better jobs. Since such

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Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban* (London: Methuen, 1956).

A study that similarly defines institutional discrimination as outgroups acting against a dominant or minority group but that presents an analysis of the process of discrimination that differs from the analysis to follow see Robert Frisvold, "How to Discriminate Without Really Trying," in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 131-44.

→ of the basic experience of black Americans and other groups in the United States and elsewhere "we should institutional" reasons for this situation. The problem is that most highly paid employment requires education or training, and these educational opportunities are not available to blacks. This unavailability reflects, at least in part, discriminatory college admissions policies *per se* but the fact of inferior educational preparation for college or other reasons, and therefore are not able to compete with whites for such jobs. Thus, even though many trade unions, for example, have a discriminatory practice of excluding blacks from apprenticeship training in skilled labor, relatively few blacks are able or willing to take advantage of such opportunities. Another institutionalized source of discrimination, at least in the world of economic opportunity (e.g., the management of the world of the junior executive), is the "particularistic" nature of blacks—and women—must face in their places of employment. In such places it is often necessary to be "one of the boys" in the bureaucratic hierarchy and if, for any reason—sexual orientation, for example—a category of people does not fit into the "clubhouse" of the workplace, then the career prospects of such people are dim. This may explain why blacks and women prefer employment with public agencies to employment in private industry.

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Person and Fugitt are thus able to show that the concentration of employment would persist in the United States for some sixty to eighty years if past disadvantage of blacks in terms of education and occupational attainment persisted. Fugitt, "Negro-White Occupational Differences in the American Journal of Sociology, 73(September, 1967):188-200." S. Coleman, *Resources for Social Change. Race in the United States* (1971), pp. 82, 83.

Thia F. Epstein, "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex-Status in the Professions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(May 1970):100-110. Suggests that the informal organization of business leaders in the United States is based on the tremendous volume of transactions between business leaders on an informal verbal basis. This way of conducting business requires trust between leaders. "Such a high degree of trust can arise only among people whose values are similar, who speak the same language in the same norms, and are involved in a network of primary relationships. They share the same values and the same patterns of symbolic behavior." Coleman, *op. cit.* pp. 82, 83.

in public service the white male establishment is superior in career advancement.<sup>62</sup> Finally, it may be argued that continued racial segregation, or institutional, variety, operates to exclude blacks from opportunities. For example, people typically locate their work of personal acquaintances.<sup>63</sup> The fact that blacks in segregated housing patterns, have little opportunity to be acquainted with whites<sup>64</sup> deprives blacks of sources of information, most of whom will necessarily be white—with jobs to boot. It is now that those blacks who are most successful in obtaining jobs attend integrated schools and can therefore include whites in their acquaintance networks.<sup>65</sup> Of course formal desegregation programs ensure blacks and whites will become acquainted, since it is not blacks and whites to separate themselves into mutually exclusive groups of acquaintances even *within* an integrated school. The attempt to combat structural or institutional discrimination through recent efforts in the United States to equalize opportunities through school integration through busing, the establishment of quotas to include a certain proportion of minorities or minorities in a certain proportion of minority group members are major attempts to combat institutional discrimination. As we shall see in the next section, efforts are especially likely to meet opposition from whites, who may brand such programs as instances of "reverse."

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It has been shown, however, that even in government employment there is extensive discrimination against racial minorities. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Report on the Government Job," Reprinted in Pettigrew, *Race and Ethnicity in the United States*, pp. 159–167.

S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* (1973):1360–1380.

James Korte and Stanley Milgram, "Acquaintance Networks Between Individuals," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 15(1970).101–108.

Robert L. Crain, "School Integration and Occupational Achievement," *American Sociological Review* 75(January 1970) 593–606.

# CHAPTER 7

## ETHNIC DYNAMICS

### INTRODUCTION

As we have noted in this book, sociological interest in ethnicity to focus especially on the fact of *variation* in the influence of this factor under different conditions of human existence. This interest has been reflected, in most of the analysis so far, in comparisons of ethnic relations in different countries or regions: for example, racial segregation in northern and southern parts of the United States. Another dimension of this variation is discussed in this chapter: variation over a period of time in the nature of ethnic relations in a given community, region, or country. The relationships between whites and blacks in some communities of the American South have changed drastically in the last thirty years, and this change is measured in lessened segregation of the races in some spheres of social interaction or in new opportunities for blacks to enjoy economic, political, and social privileges that had previously been denied them. In this chapter we examine some lines of explanation of these and similar changes in ethnic relations.

Three general kinds of forces for change will be examined here. First, changes in ethnic relations may be one of the several consequences

al social changes that are occurring in a given country or region. The introduction, for example, of a new, large town is likely to affect many aspects of the social life of its residents, including the possibility of a change in industry, there are many workers of an alien ethnicity who work in that industry. We refer to such changes as *planned* changes, not because they just spring up without any human intention, but because they are by-products that were intended by those responsible for the changes.

Second, the status of ethnic relations in an area may become a social problem by people in positions of authority, who have the authority to attempt to institute changes. They may, for example, be adding the continuation of given kinds of ethnic discrimination. They may undertake massive programs of assistance to underprivileged groups to try to help them improve their collective social status. Such efforts are to such efforts as *planned* change, since they reflect a conscious design a newer and better model of ethnic relations. Third, individuals or groups outside positions of authority may perceive authority as lacking in appropriate concern or capacity to deal with the problematic state of ethnic relations. These concerned outsiders may exert pressures on decision makers to pass antidiscrimination legislation, to start assistance programs, etc. We shall refer to such efforts as *pressure* changes, and we shall examine several of the pressure tactics that have been used to push for changes in various aspects of ethnic relations.

## SPONTANEOUS CHANGES

In the history of a given country, region, or community, it is likely to occur that will have a profound influence on all other aspects of social relationship in that area. It may be the discovery of new natural resources, and demographic changes such as altered fertility, mortality, or migration rates may have such effects. To illustrate the effects on ethnic relations of such changes, in this chapter focus on a single area of broad social change called *modernization*, a very general term for the processes that have been occurring in many parts of the world. Specific elements of modernization include the processes of urbanization (movement of people from country to city); *industrialization* (production of goods and services by the modern factory system); *development*, the adoption of more efficient technologies;

ers to produce more goods and services) Urbanization and technological development are widely defined. Among the problematic effects of such modernization are the consequences for ethnic relations where such changes are rapid.

## Urbanization

According to a prevailing school of sociological thought, the process of modernization has resulted in the development of a modern, urban culture which has eroded the provincialism of regional or tribal loyalty in the past.<sup>1</sup> On the assumption that traditional ethnic identities are being dissolved, anthropologists have been urged to move quickly to study the remaining primitive peoples, since rural or traditional societies are disappearing of the past.

This view of the "de-ethnicized" urban person has come under serious attack as studies of modernizing peoples have accumulated. As Cohen has said, for example, about African migrants to cities, "they are not 'de-tribalized,' they tend to be 'supertribalized' by their new experience."<sup>2</sup> Cohen thus shows how the ethnic identity of the Yoruba tribesmen, nourished by a British colonial policy of segregation, was being overwhelmed by the more numerous Yoruba migrants. Indeed, ethnic identity intensified in the period following the independence of Nigeria.<sup>3</sup>

There have been at least two major lines of explanation for the persistence of ethnic identity in urbanizing countries. Little's work in West Africa illustrates one kind of explanation: the formation of ethnic unions or tribal associations among migrants. Prominent among those voluntary associations that make urban life possible. Migrant tribesmen find among their tribal

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<sup>1</sup> Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Primitive* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), S. N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization, Protest and Revolution* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Hanna and Judith L. Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, *Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausaland* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

<sup>4</sup> E. L. Little, *West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1965). For further analysis see J. H. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in African City* 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

work of people ready to help them with problems of living—getting a job, finding housing, etc.<sup>5</sup> Such migrants with a sense of continuity between their old and new social existence. Most important, perhaps, tribal affiliations act as agents of resocialization from traditional to modern.

On the one hand, they emphasize tribal duties and obligations. On the other, they urge the adoption of a modern outlook and new social practices. . . . They build for the migrant a new social existence and in so doing they convey him from one kind of social existence to another.<sup>6</sup>

One line of analysis clearly implies that persisting ethnic affiliations are a stage in development of the modern person, providing a bridge that, once crossed, will allow people to leave behind their traditional affiliations.

Another line of analysis seems to come to grips more directly with the "tribalization" feature of urbanizing societies. The ethnic divisiveness is emphasized as a means for organizing the struggle of different groups to contend for the scarce privileges available in the city.<sup>7</sup> These privileges may be (to use Weber's terminology) economic or political or "social" in nature.

Following this perspective, the recent intensification of ethnic conflict and rivalry in African countries (the bitter Yoruba-Igbos in Nigeria being an extreme example) may be attributed to the process of urbanization of these countries, which brought together people of different origins in the same urban economy, but to the same extent to the independence movements as well. As European domination waned, wealth, political power, and social prestige lessened, new prizes to contend for. These remained scarce prizes.

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de Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969).

*West African Urbanization*, p. 87.

Ernest Gellner (ed.), *Urban Ethnicity* (London: Tavistock, 1974), p. 1. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa," *American Anthropologist*, 6 (June, 1974): 457-484; George Bennett, "Tribalism in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 12 (1974): 1-15; and J. H. J. van den Berghe, *Tradition and Transition in East Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 59-88. Claude S. Fischer, "Toward a Subcultural Theory of Urbanization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78 (1973): 1-25.

competition for dominance in these various areas. Ethnic contention is based on "a widespread fear of members of another ethnic group will lead to the destruction of their own group."<sup>8</sup> The "new men of power" in postcolonial states are accordingly motivated to play on these fears of being outmaneuvered to create an ethnic constituency for themselves to protect their interests.<sup>9</sup>

These two versions of persisting or heightened ethnic conflict in urban areas do not have to be seen as mutually exclusive. This is illustrated in Schildkrout's study of Mossi migrants from the rural areas of Kumasi in Ghana.<sup>10</sup> For first-generation migrants, the association performs most of the functions of adaptation to the urban setting. The ethnic group tends, for example, to provide a support network to replace real family members from back home. In the second generation, when men are in the city, and this function of the ethnic association becomes less salient. Mossi association persists, however, in more subtle ways. Because the Mossi, like all ethnic groups in Ghana, "need to accumulate economic and political power, and for many individuals this means all) identification with the ethnic group is a necessary condition for increasing the likelihood of success."<sup>11</sup>

## Industrialization

Consideration of the industrializing aspect of modernization brings into the case of urbanization, an older and a more recent type of effects on ethnic relations. Industrialization, according to an earlier view, discourages social organization on the basis of ethnicity.<sup>12</sup> Modern industry requires a highly rationalized system of production—whatever techniques will maximize production—regardless of ethnicity—for example, the discriminatory wage policy.

<sup>8</sup> A. J. H. G. and Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa*, p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Richard L. Sklar, "Political Science and National Integration—A Critique," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 5(1967):1-11; and P. C. Lloyd, *African Urbanization* (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 302.

<sup>10</sup> Schildkrout, "Ethnicity and Generational Differences Among Migrants," in Cohen, *Urban Ethnicity*, pp. 187-222.

<sup>11</sup> Schildkrout, "Ethnicity and Generational Differences," p. 215.

<sup>12</sup> For a critical review of such viewpoints see Harold Wolpe, "Industrialization and the Disappearance of Ethnicity," in Samir Amin (ed.), *Race and Racism* (London: Tavistock, 1968), pp. 1-10.



ans more than native workers for the same work (p. 5) is seen as inconsistent with industrialization, not only because of native talent and also because, by depriving them of income, it deprives manufacturers of a domestic market for their products. On this basis it had been predicted that the process of industrialization in South Africa would undermine the share of employment in that country.<sup>13</sup> Another "de-ethnification" of industrialization has been suggested. As industry develops, the Marxian sense of the distinction between owners and workers will develop among all ethnic groups, and these class divisions among ethnic groups will tend to reduce ethnic solidarity and the possibility of domination of one ethnic group by another.<sup>14</sup> Recent studies of modernization, especially in Africa, have shown that development of industry does not always have the effect of reducing the importance of ethnic affiliation. Wolpe shows that industrialization in South Africa has not resulted in the implementation of discriminatory wage policies on the indicated grounds of "nationality."<sup>15</sup> Given the extreme opposition of white workers to equalization of pay between themselves and black workers, white workers find it entirely rational to continue the discriminatory wage policy, so could lead to strikes by white workers. The cost of discriminatory racial employment may also be a fallacy. As Wolpe points out, the racially repressive society of South Africa has had to train and employ native workers in highly skilled occupational positions, even while grossly underpaying them. The adaptability of a racist society to industrial conditions is illustrated in the case of South Africa.

The idea that class will replace ethnicity as a basis of social organization in an industrialized society has also been challenged, again with examples. Industrialization will have this effect because occupational division of labor leads to association of people

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a van der Horst, "The Effects of Industrialization on Race Relations," in J. H. Hunter (ed.), *Industrialization and Race Relations* (London, Oxford, 1967), p. 101.

a critical review of several formulations of this sort, see Leo Kuper, "Industrialization and Race Relations," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8 (1966), 87-107.

c groups in the same occupation. Actually, the experience was different, and elsewhere is that there tends to be a sharp division of occupational roles between the various native tribal groups. In Africa, working class solidarity between black and white workers was effectively eliminated in the 1920s, when protests by native workers against discriminatory employment practices resulted in an alliance between the workers and owners of industry. The owners bought the loyalty of the white supremacy system by yielding to the demands of the workers for the continuation of favorable treatment for themselves and their families. The unions<sup>17</sup>

## PLANNED CHANGES

We turn now to those changes in ethnic relations that have been the intended result—of efforts of persons in positions of authority to bring about change. We noted earlier two different ways in which human relationships could be analyzed: social distance and social power. It would be possible, therefore, to focus on the ways in which social distance between ethnic groups either by increasing or decreasing through planned integration or increasing social distance through the apartheid system of racial separation in South Africa. Also, there are or have been efforts made to apply the concept of social power to the ethnic people by reducing the privileges of the dominant group and increasing the privileges of the subordinate group. We shall not, for lack of space, deal here with the various kinds of change. Rather, we shall focus on an area of change that is most prominent today: the effort made in many countries, regions, and communities to reduce the inequality between ethnic peoples, to move toward various systems of ethnic stratification. It seems clear that the efforts to change are the wave of the present if not of the future. People of various sorts are hard at work attempting to implement in social practice the rather idealistic assertion that "all men are created equal." Some kinds of effort in that direction have been made, but persistent difficulties in the way of the "best laid plans" have been encountered.

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17. See, for example, John H. Coatsworth and Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa*, pp. 131-132; and Michael Banton, *Race Relations* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), p. 100.

## ality by Statute

nic equality may be established as a matter of  
cal jurisdiction through the enactment of laws or r  
mination unlawful or through the articulation of  
nistrative agencies of government. We shall be exa  
e experience of anti-discrimination policy in the I  
Britain to illustrate some of the persisting problem  
s area

he United States, as elsewhere, official action to e  
nent of minorities has involved a series of pieceme  
rections and under different jurisdictions. The ex  
deral government has often moved considerably at  
n its willingness to pursue official attacks on di  
nt era of civil rights action began with an executive  
lin D. Roosevelt in 1941 (apparently in response  
ve demonstration by blacks) in which he articulati  
nited States that there shall be no discrimination in  
orkers in defense industries or government because  
or national origin "'<sup>18</sup> Executive departments gran  
were instructed to write nondiscrimination clau  
, and a Fair Employment Practices Commit  
lished, which had at first only a vague mandate t  
' and advise the president. In 1943, however,  
nittee were more closely defined to enable it to he  
gotiate agreements with offending companies to en  
n in employment. These actions—pressure through  
r of government to withhold federal aid from discr  
he use of conciliation, the negotiated settlement  
ading discriminators to agree to change their pract  
s of federal policy that have been continued. These  
ally not been effective in achieving their aim, but  
be introduced by the executive branch in the 1  
icant. President Truman tried unsuccessfully for t  
ress establish FEPC by statute; finally, he established

the program himself by executive order in 1948.<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps, that the executive branch may be more responsive to the need for protection of minority rights. Unlike individual constituencies and tend to reflect priorities.<sup>20</sup> Presidents represent more directly the "national interest" than that interest is defined, for example, as maximum economic growth (a major concern in 1941) or as enabling the country to take a hard-line posture in international relations (a consideration Congress finally did, in 1957, enact legislation that created the Commission on Civil Rights with the responsibility to investigate discrimination, and provided the Justice Department, through its Civil Rights Division, with the power to prosecute on behalf of the government any denial of voting rights.<sup>21</sup> While the Civil Rights Commission performed valuable service by its thorough and critical examination of racial discrimination in American life, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department was hampered for a number of years by its lack of authority to force local voting registrars in the South to remove names from the voter rolls. In effect, the Justice Department had to tolerate the "practice" of racial discrimination without any way to prevent or remove such a pattern.

The momentous Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 corrected many of the deficiencies in effective enforcement of nondiscrimination laws, as well as some other deficiencies. Title VII of the 1964 Act prohibited employment discrimination and established an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce rights in this area. The EEOC receives complaints from anyone who feels that because of race, color, sex, or religion he or she is being discriminated against in employment, in labor unions, or in treatment by employment agencies. The act covers only certain types of employers, unions, and employment agencies (many are not covered by the act). If the commission finds evidence of discrimination, it so informs the offending agency and tries to get it to stop the discrimination.

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son and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, p. 426.

senior representatives in Congress were extremely resistant to the act. son and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, p. 425.

erick M. Wirt, *Politics of Southern Equality* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965), p. 100. son and Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, p. 429.

conciliation" that is satisfactory to both parties.<sup>23</sup> Fair employment commission can turn the case over to the Justice Department for possible legal prosecution. Very similar procedures are used by commissions on fair employment practice that have been established in most states and many cities.

On an evaluation of the operation of these commissions at the national levels, Witherspoon observes that "perhaps the major factor contributing to the typical ability of a human-resources manager to dispose through the techniques of conciliation is the attention brought to its attention is its possession of ultimate authority to force compliance with the law if conciliation fails." The EEOC has this power in the roundabout way of taking the case to the Justice Department, in practice it has not often operated this way, because of the complications arising when two agencies get involved in the enforcement act. The case was chosen of a "brief shining moment" in the history of the EEOC, a point in a negative way.<sup>25</sup> The case described was that of a company in Newport News, Virginia, that was found to have a discriminatory policy by virtue of racially discriminatory hiring practices. At the time an official of the EEOC, and he had a clear understanding between his agency and the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department that failure to cooperate with conciliation efforts (which had been the company's first inclination) would only lead to prosecution. This understanding was reached through bureaucratic cooperation, and a substantial reduction in racial discrimination by the company was achieved. However, the case attracted public criticism of the settlement and this, in addition to the "business as usual" rivalry between governmental agencies,

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difficulty of reaching such conciliations is suggested by a plaque in the office of Thurgood Marshall, first head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Blessed are the peacemakers—for they shall catch hell from both sides. (Quoted in *Southern Equality*, p. ix.)

John P. Witherspoon, *Administrative Implementation of Civil Rights* (New York: Praeger Press, 1968), p. 115.

W. Blumrosen, "The Newport News Agreement—One Brief Settlement of Equal Employment Opportunity." in John H. McCord (ed.), *Selected Civil Rights Theory and Practice* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), p. 115.

that this brief shining moment would be the one  
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complicating factor in the enforcement of civil rights laws. The rapid and enormous expansion of coverage of these laws, especially "Equal opportunity" laws and regulations have increased demands to eliminate discrimination against women. In a survey of state and city laws, there have been extensions of coverage. There are laws forbidding discrimination against recipients of public assistance, people of deviant "sexual orientation," the physically handicapped. In Pennsylvania, the law prohibiting discrimination against a hospital employee who participates in performing an abortion."<sup>27</sup> These extensions have resulted, Martin suggests, in a new form of "racialized" and expanded work loads and, often as not, with diminished mandated services, enforcement agencies are unable to perform as well their original job of enforcing laws against discrimination.

The 1965 Civil Rights Act, and its subsequent enforcement, has the possibility of more positive results in planned intervention. As noted above, the Justice Department had been frustrated in the Southern states to insure black voting rights by its inability to determine simply by "administrative oversight" whether discrimination was necessary.<sup>28</sup> According to the act, a prima facie case of discrimination in voting registration exists in any county where the nonwhites of voting age are actually registered in less than 50 percent, the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department

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An essentially negative evaluation of the impact of EEOC action on discrimination in employment, see Arvil V. Adams, *"Toward Fair Employment: A Study of Compliance Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964"* (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1972). For evaluation of fair employment commissions on the state and local level, see, *Public Civil Rights Agencies and Fair Employment* (New York: Morroe Berger, *Equality by Statute*, rev. ed. (Garden City, N.Y. 1971).

John Martin, "New Civil Rights Coverages—Progress or Racism?" *Newsweek*, 4(April, 1975) 14–37. Quotation on p. 19.

*Politics of Southern Equality* p. 70

in federal registrars to insure the opening of the v  
es. Under its cool but determined directors, Burke L  
(later to gain national recognition as majority cou  
ary Committee during hearings on the impeachm  
(n), and with a staff of enforcement officers of simi  
Civil Rights Division was able to produce such "dr  
n the percentage of eligible blacks actually registered  
60 to 61 percent in 1969 in Alabama, and from 5  
percent in 1969 in Mississippi.<sup>29</sup>

le VI of the 1964 act has generated another hig  
oach to enforced nondiscrimination. The act make  
y receiving federal assistance to practice ethnic or  
President Johnson, by executive order in 1965 (wh  
67 to cover the employment of women) gave imp  
ation of this title by requiring all federal department  
ction" to insure that discrimination is not practiced  
, hospitals, schools, housing authorities—receiv  
.<sup>30</sup> The Department of Health, Education, and W  
d its mandate as requiring that financially assisted  
rsities, must either: (1) demonstrate that minorities  
oyed in numbers proportional to their number in  
et, or (2) show why they have not been able to ach  
face the possible loss of federal assistance.

s so-called quota approach to the enforcement of r  
een severely criticized, even by some "liberal" ind  
ons who have actively promoted civil rights.<sup>31</sup> The  
mittee has, for example, vigorously opposed such  
s, because Jewish participation in certain intellectu  
Jews an advantage in a situation of open competit  
nic origins. The pages of *Commentary*, published b  
been filled with articles highly critical of "affirmati

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*Politics of Southern Equality*, p. 89.

the text of the 1965 order, see *Race Relations Law Report*

h Cad tz    Ambivalence Toward n egration: The Sequence of Re  
uations    *Sociological Quarterly*, 16 (Winter 1975): 16–32

the application of quotas for the participation of minorities. In this article, Abrams asserts that EEOC actually violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which specifically forbids the use of racial quotas.<sup>33</sup> According to Seabury, American universities have been misled by "affirmative action" programs into relaxing standards for minority group members of lesser qualification. The oft-cited statement by Justice Harlan (in a dissenting Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which established a constitutional basis for racially "separate but equal" schools) that "our Constitution is color-blind." Universities, which are color-blind concept, have been reluctant even to consider race ethnically, as they would have to do to prove compliance with affirmative action.<sup>34</sup>

The development of antidiscrimination legislation in Great Britain has similarities to and differences from the American experience. After World War II, Britain had a considerable influx of Commonwealth immigrants, especially from former British colonies in India, Pakistan, and the West Indies. Native Britons tend to lump these people together as "coloured." Although such immigrants have constituted less than 2 or 3 percent of the English population, their concentration in industrial centers has made them highly visible and a source of competition with working-class people in these areas. The government has maintained an ambivalent position with reference to these immigrants. On the one hand, as the political left has been allied with the trade union movement, the Labour Party has associated itself with the feelings of white working-class people. On the other hand, the generally liberal and internationalist

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Steven Steinberg, "How Jewish Quotas Began," *Commentary*, 56 (January, 1973):37-47; Martin Mayer, "Higher Education For All?—The Case of Open Universities," 57(February, 1973):37-47; Elliott Abrams, "The Quota Commission," 54(October, 1972):54-58; Paul Seabury, "HEW and the Universities," 53(January, 1972):38-44.

Abrams, "The Quota Commission."

Seabury, "HEW and the Universities."

The following discussion is based on E. J. B. Rose, *Colour and Citizenship: Race Relations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); Simon Willmet, *Immigration and Race Relations in Britain 1960-1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).



a position of the Labour Party has demanded a demand for minorities in the country.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, the Labour movement for immigration restriction that began in the 1950s expressed its "other face" by sponsoring an antidiscrimination Act in 1965 and in 1968.

The nature of this legislation and its implementation in relation to the generalization, suggested above, that it developed as a "correction" of past mistakes in the attitude of social life. One critic of this legislation, Kushnick, noted that British legislators had at their disposal much information and experience of civil rights legislation in the United States, but failed to repeat some of the American mistakes.<sup>37</sup> This is a criticism to the assertion that "there is no immutable law that any country to make the same mistakes as others."<sup>38</sup> The basic "mistakes" of the 1965 act were. (1) it limited the scope of alleged discrimination in "places of public entertainment, etc.—leaving uncovered the more vexatious problems in housing and employment, and (2) it provided a weak enforcement mechanism, similar to but even weaker than the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the United States. The Race Relations Board (a weak body like the EEOC) created by the act had the power to seek evidence of alleged discrimination (but only through the establishment of local committees), with the additional power to refer cases to the attorney general for possible prosecution. These local committees were not even provided with the power to compel attendance at their hearings. This reliance on these restricted methods led the Race Relations Board to become a major critic of the act under which it operated. The board was overwhelmed by those complaints that it could *not* process and cite

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comment above about the influence of local constituencies in the decision-making of members of Parliament is probably somewhat overstated. A member of Parliament, who finds that his loyalty to the official party is more important to his political career than the attitudes of the constituency, can always find a safe way to support a loyal party

tions in its annual reports.<sup>39</sup> This activity, abetted by a survey of the continued discrimination against Commonwealth immigrants,<sup>40</sup> led to a successful movement in 1968 to extend the Race Relations Board to deal with housing and employment. The enforcement weaknesses of the 1965 act were, however.<sup>41</sup> The classic practice in British politics, "to go to the extreme" had produced a rather weak start in the direction of racial equality.<sup>42</sup>

## Development Strategies

Planners of greater ethnic equality in the United States began to work with the limitations of "equal opportunity" as a means of lessening of ethnic stratification. The urban street riots dramatized the fact that the masses of black Americans were protected by antidiscrimination legislation, and probably even if the legislation had been effectively enforced, they were still to suffer not so much from lack of the right to civil liberties, but from a lack of resources—financial—with which to compete *successfully*. As a product of a "separate and unequal" educational system, for example, a black child could not hope to hold his own in school or work against a white child. It became increasingly apparent to planners that a new approach to the problem of minorities was

<sup>39</sup> Cohen and Marna Glyn, "The Race Relations Board," in Abbott, *Race Relations in Britain*, pp. 267–285.

<sup>40</sup> M. Daniel, *Racial Discrimination in England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).

<sup>41</sup> The weakness of the 1968 act may be attributable to the opposition by a Conservative member of Parliament, Enoch Powell, on April 20, 1968, when he was able to "speak the unspeakable," to give voice to what he felt was the "real situation." Powell put it, "in this country in fifteen or twenty years' time the black man will be in a position to stand over the white man." For a description of some of the problems, see Dilip Hiro, *Black British, White British*, rev. ed. (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 241–253.

<sup>42</sup> The novelty of the 1965 act (compared with American legislation) was its prohibition against "incitement" to racial violence. The background of the act was a rather vociferous anti-Semitism in the country in which, among others, a man had urged to "Free Britain From Jewish Control." Kushnick, "British Race Relations," pp. 241–242.

d emphasize not so much civil rights as the oppo-  
resources of those minorities. President Johnson's  
ministered through the Office of Economic Oppo-  
most dramatic and visible manifestation of this ap-  
o aspects of such "development" strategies will  
approach takes the *individual* minority group me-  
reater resource development. The American Indi-  
of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would illustrate this.  
the philosophy behind relocation, the individual  
le to develop his personal resources when he is bo-  
omic resources available on the Indian reservation  
me area of hard-core poverty in American life. This  
flies in the face, of course, of the Indian revitalization  
discussed earlier. By most calculations, relocation is c-  
ms of its own aims, since the Indian faces various  
ty without the cushioning effect of the moral support  
result, the Indian either "remains Indian" by associ-  
cs who, like himself, undervalue material acquisition,  
43 or he reacts to the anomie of the urban situation  
ng or some other social pathology.<sup>44</sup>

Other example of planned development of individ-  
und in the area often referred to as "compensatory  
rities. For instance, the federal government provid-  
cts in impoverished areas under Title I of the Eleme-  
ducation Act of 1965. Evaluations of the program h-  
funds have been used in ways that are of doubt  
ded recipients. Apparently, the Office of Education  
unds, has not insisted on carefully drawn plans for c-  
ey.<sup>45</sup> More visible programs are provided through

Start, which provides preschool preparation for  
gsters, and Upward Bound programs, which admi-

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Ablon, "Relocated American Indians in the San Francisco Bay A-  
Indian Identity," *Human Organization*, 23(Winter, 1964):296-

odore D. Graves, "The Personal Adjustment of Navajo Indian  
do," *American Anthropologist*, 72(February, 1970):35-54.

ra d A. Gickstein "Federal Educational Programs and Monte  
54-55, 2015-1969, 202, 214.

minority group students to colleges without the usual records. Such programs are limited by (1) the Bunker-like "forgotten American" taxpayers, who are being spent on expensive welfare programs for whom they can barely make ends meet; (2) such nonminority students, who instituted a "discrimination in reverse" lawsuit against the University of Washington for passing over his law school applications of less-qualified minority applicants;<sup>46</sup> (3) the indifference of the minorities themselves toward such programs. For example, that many reservation Indians resent Head Start and other programs that concentrate attention on children, which they see as the *real* need of Indians: the development of job opportunities.<sup>47</sup>

With the advent of the "new ethnicity," with its emphasis on the ethnic community, such individual-oriented development of minority resources have understandably come under attack. Public policy takes account of these feelings and has adopted a new approach that emphasizes *community* development. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized the Office of Economic Opportunity to fund Community Action Programs in which the poor themselves develop programs of community self-improvement.

Indian reservations are a natural area for the development of community action programs. An Indian reservation, which typically qualifies with no exception for poverty and which has in existence some sort of tribal government, can provide an organizational base for program planning and implementation. There were, accordingly, sixty-eight such funded Community Action Programs on Indian reservations in 1971.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately for these programs, they were engrafted on a structure of community development that many Indians defined as highly paternalistic. For many years they had been subjected for years to procedures where the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided various services *for* the Indian people.

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Totenberg, "Discriminating to End Discrimination," *New York Times*, 1974, pp. 8-9.

Ray L. Wax and Rosalie H. Wax, "The Enemies of the People," in J. H. Coer, David Riesman, and Robert S. Weiss (eds.), *Institutional Change* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), pp. 101-118.

George P. Castile, "Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave," *Human Organization*, 33(Fall, 1974):219-228.

participation was provided by the tribal council, creatures of federal and administrative rather than traditional Indian tradition.<sup>49</sup> Even the "enlightened" administrator, who was Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1945 to 1953, whose sensible policy of Indian self-determination, violated the traditional Indian practice of extending benefits by "administrative action," had voted against receiving such benefits,<sup>50</sup> there was still a sense of the "right to make mistakes."<sup>51</sup> Because of these past practices, Indian reservations have become "administered communities" in the sense defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as a community "whose social, cultural, economic and political life is controlled by outside agencies."<sup>52</sup> In an analysis of recent federal government-sponsored programs, Castile argues that there is a danger that reservations may become "sustained enclaves" rather than self-governing communities.<sup>53</sup> He means by this that reservations will continue to depend for an indefinite period but that such programs will be terminated if: (1) the current tendency to leave planning and administration of programs to the Indians is continued—the sustained enclave program of economically supported but fundamentally dependent communities<sup>54</sup>—and (2) the Indians can be assured by resolution of Congress otherwise that *termination* of federal support for Indian programs is a possibility, so they may be assured of the continuation of such programs. It is about Castile's optimistic assessment that the transfer of planning programs to "the Indians" may not change fundamental conditions. If political power on the reservation may rest in a tribal council, the council is more responsive to "the government" than to "the people."

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separation between tribal councils and "the people" is shown to exist among the Navaho in Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors Without Weapons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), and in Robert K. Thomas, "Powerless Politics," *New University of California*. For a similar observation among the Navaho, see Tom T. Sweeney, *A Navajo Community in Transition* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 17. Collier, *From Every Zenith* (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), p. 17. J. H. P. Sax, "The Freedom to Make Mistakes," *America Indigena*, 16(1966), p. 1. Weingrod, *Reluctant Pioneers Village Development in Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. viii.

le "Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave."

le, *Federal Indian Policy and the Sustained Enclave*, p. 219.

further limitation of Community Action Programs may be the serious corruption and misuse of funds that have been noted in several instances. Another potential if not actual abuse was indicated in the operation of the "minority responsive" Nixon re-election campaign of 1972, a set of practices exposed by the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, which was established to investigate Watergate.<sup>54</sup> It was, according to some evidence, intended to use the thousands of Community Development program funds to coerce campaign support from minority business and development programs. Such practices seem to illustrate at least the problems—of trying to assist minorities through the administration of funded programs.

## ETHNIC MOVEMENTS

Ethnic groups that occupy minority positions in a society, or whose members experience social distance from the majority, or by dominant group members may not feel inclined to be improved either spontaneously or through the efforts of political officials. They may act in some way to bring about change, expecting that such protests will lead to an improvement. Such collective protests are commonly referred to as *social movements*, and the field of ethnic relations is certainly no exception. Social movements are likely to be an important part of the study of ethnic relations. Social movements can and have been studied from a variety of perspectives. Sociological interest may focus on such questions as: (1) How do social movements begin? (What conditions generate social movements among Negroes, the Red Power movements, the Brown Power movements among Chicanos?) (2) How many members of a total population does a social movement attract? (What social classes of blacks have been attracted to the Black Panther movement?) (3) How do changes occur in the aims and tactics of a movement? (Why did the black civil rights movement come to use non-violence or civil disobedience tactics of Martin Luther King?) (4) What are some of these important questions about ethnic movements that have not been fully dealt with here. Rather we shall keep attention on the general subject of this chapter, an analysis of those forces that

ge in a system of ethnic relations. As in our discussion of planned changes, we are concerned with the *effectiveness*: the degree to which they act as contributory factors. There is one perspective on recent protest actions and elsewhere that insists that collective protest — is an extremely fertile source of social change. Conclusion of a study conducted in 1969 by the social science National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, antiwar protest, and student demonstrations as having a strong political design and effect, with major institutional actions as civil rights legislation, the ending of the introduction of reforms in college and university admissions. Accounts for some of the success of social movements in arguing that the checks and balances built into the system of government make the system ideal for the preservation of the status quo, not as amenable to change except when the pressure is "applied" by social movements.<sup>57</sup>

Our major problem for analysis is thus the question of whether it is relatively easy or difficult for ethnic movements to bring about desired changes in prevailing ethnic relations. Analysis is provided in the *conflict* perspective on human relations that stresses the ubiquity and importance of struggles between groups threatening any current state of social order. Much of this approach derives, of course, from the Marxian insistence on the centrality of the class struggle and with the continuing efforts of sociologists to explain or to explain away the actual conditions in modern industrial countries. Although our focus is on ethnic rather than class relations, many insights on our subject have flowed from the longstanding effort to reach an understanding of the course of this class struggle.

Robert Dahrendorf is one contemporary "conflict theorist" who offers a perspective of primary interest in class relations. He formulates a general model of social conflict that will be useful for our purposes<sup>58</sup> instead of beginning, as do the functionalists,

an assumption of equilibrium—that is, the notion that there is an inherent tendency to sustain the status quo and that any change is from uncontrolled deviations from this tendency—rather than starting from an opposite set of assumptions. We should have us assume that in every social group with “inherent” (with rulers and ruled), subordinate members there is an inherent tendency to revolt against the system in which they are engaged. Any variation from this tendency—any situation that inhibits the organization of struggle between the advantaged and the disadvantaged is explained by the *constraints* on this revolutionary tendency. We ought to bear against potential revolutionaries. The idea of constraint as a factor in inhibiting the development of movements will be useful to us in the analysis that follows. We should pay attention on a very important consideration in the analysis of an ethnic movement: the reactions of persons who are hostile to those movements or even their anticipation of them. Because of the constraining potential and inclination of those in the reins of power, it is by no means obvious that the process of social change is, as Dahrendorf asserts, much better understood in terms of social change than is the functionalist perspective. It is, ironically, that a systematic consideration of constraints on social movements would lead to some skepticism about the desirability—of radical social change and the role of social movements.

In analyzing ethnic movements in relation to constraints, we should be guided by Dahrendorf's suggestion that there are “conditions” that must be favorable if revolutionary action is to be realized. Utilizing its “inherent” potentialities. Dahrendorf calls for a consideration of organization, conflict, and change.

## Conditions of Organization

For any movement on behalf of any ethnic minority to be successful, ways must be found to get together enough persons to have the power and unity of action to bring effective pressure to bear for the realization of change. The mere fact of “common victimization” as discussed in Chapter 3, not always sufficient to generate unity of action. If each victimized individual acts as an individual rather than as a line of a group-determined course of action, there is no effective pressure against subordinate positions but no preponderance of a given change in the status quo of ethnic



**blems of factional division** One prominent one is the prevalence of *factionalism* among minorities. It arises because effective action may require coalitions. The following examples will illustrate some of the problems.

In Britain in 1964 there was launched a Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (C.A.R.D.) aimed at protesting continuing discrimination against Commonwealth immigrants (primarily West Indians).<sup>59</sup> C.A.R.D. was designed to be an "organization coordinating the efforts of the many organizations for colored groups (e.g., the Standing Conference of West Indians, the Indian Workers Association, Great Britain).<sup>60</sup> It soon found itself unable to cope with the factionalism among the organizations. The West Indian organization soon withdrew. Indian leaders thought C.A.R.D. was "white-dominated" and the West Indian group apparently felt its independence threatened by the necessity of coordinating its activities with the organization of organizations." The difficulty of a unified immigrant social movement in Britain may also reflect differences of opinion among the masses of immigrants from different parts of the Commonwealth. It is suggested, for example, that there is a "black" rivalry in Britain that reflects a general tendency for immigrant groups to practice social distance toward each other.<sup>61</sup> Partly because of this factionalism, perhaps, it has been less successful than the civil rights legislation in the United States. The most active of minority ethnic groups in Britain played a key role in the passage of the Race Relations Acts of 1965 and 1968. A second instance of factionalism in an ethnic movement is the passive resistance movement in South Africa, especially the 1952-53 campaign called the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

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Benjamin W. Heineman, Jr., *The Politics of the Powerless: A Study of the Problem of Racial Discrimination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 1. The brute fact of discrimination, thought the founder of C.A.R.D., was that "the white man and the West Indians together to form such an organization" (Heineman, *op. cit.*, p. 1).

Donald White, "Black v. Pak?" in Donald E. Gelfand and Russell L. White, *Black and White: A Cross-National Perspective* (New York: Wiley, 1968), p. 412.

Immanuel Wallerstein, *Immigration and Race Relations in Britain*, p. 412.

Herbert Goldhamer, *Passive Resistance in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 1.

and in Chapter 1, South African *apartheid* policies reduced to the same level of extreme deprivation of rights the white groups in the country, native blacks, Indians, and people of mixed racial ancestry. By 1952 the separate groups came together in a campaign of civil disobedience to violate the various *apartheid* rules in the country, using non-violence techniques developed by Gandhi in leading the struggle in Africa before he moved on to leadership of the movement in India. While the campaign failed for other reasons, it failed partly because the different discriminatory *apartheid* worked on these three groups in different ways. It was difficult to agree on an appropriate set of targets for the protest. The leadership ultimately moved away from the tripartite C.A.R.D. to an affiliation toward an affiliation with a Pan-Africanist movement from various countries of Africa. As in Britain, cooperation was hindered by feelings of social distance. The coloured groups gave minimal support to the movement, partly because they associated with groups (blacks and Indians) that they considered inferior.

Quite apart from such difficulties of federation or coalition, the experience of protesting social movements may engender a sense of rivalry. The C.A.R.D. experience in Great Britain is a good example. The organization was almost immediately torn apart by internal disputes and tactics: specifically, over the issue of whether to demand the repeal of the Commonwealth Immigration Act or whether it should concentrate efforts to strengthen the anti-discriminatory legislation in the Race Relations Act of 1968. The movement in the United States similarly has been plagued by internal disputes. Each separate black organization (and each of a given organization) is likely to reflect in aims and tactics the idiosyncracies of its particular members.<sup>65</sup> Such tendencies are understandable if one reflects that it takes the mentality of a person to be involved in a movement. If movement participants are not in unison they may not always be willing to compromise to accommodate the different convictions of other

the case it may be as Weber suggests that a successful revolutionary movement is the presence of a charismatic leader (as Martin Luther King or Cesar Chavez) who can inspire a mass of diverse commitment simply on the basis of that charisma.<sup>66</sup>

**blems of leadership.** Concerted action in a social movement requires leadership that has not only charisma but also the ability to deal with the complex problems of leading a mass movement. Kuper notes that in the 1952 passive resistance campaign in South Africa, many of the campaign's leaders were found guilty of violating laws against opposition to *apartheid* (some of these laws were enacted during the campaign itself) and given lengthy jail sentences that were intended to ensure that the rebellious acts not be repeated. "This removal of these leaders from active roles in the resistance movement, from a perspective of twenty years distance from the event, is a strong suggestion that the campaign may, after all, have been premature. The leaders of the campaign knew full well that the African nonwhites were not ready to risk greater repression in a defiance campaign, and Kuper asks, with obvious justification, is it expedient to surrender the militant cadres to the state?"<sup>67</sup>

## Conditions of Conflict

Even assuming organized action of an ethnic movement, the revolution may still become far short of the aims of the movement's leaders. The concept of *accommodation* may be brought to bear. Kuper emphasizes, extreme conflict between parties (e.g., in South Africa) tends to generate forces to bring that conflict to a halt.

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charisma of Martin Luther King apparently exercised a prominent role in the C.A.R.D. movement in Britain. It was shortly after Dr. King visited Britain that the course of action for the "coloured" people of Britain that the campaign took. *Politics of the Powerless*, pp. 16-19.

Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, p. 192.

Kuper, "Nonviolence Revisited," in Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, *Power in Black Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).  
Max Weber, *Conflict*, trans. by Kurt H. Wolff [and] *The Web of Ideals*, ed. by Reinhard Bendix (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955).

ough some conflicts terminate in the unconditional surrender of one party to another, it more often happens that before this the contending parties will both define continuation of the struggle as a goal and will search for some compromise by which they can obtain at least for "half a loaf" (or some other fraction thereof) what they desire. This compromising tendency sometimes has been attributed to the leaders of social movements. Myrdal thus defines "commodative leadership" among American blacks and argues that, as a result, these leaders develop a vested interest in stalling the process at a point short of total achievement of aims.<sup>70</sup> Such a situation is described as "advantages of the disadvantages" as their vanity is catered to by the leaders who bring them into the councils of the mighty. It is understood that they will act as a "moderating" influence on the more radical followers. Perhaps the most insightful sociological analysis of this behavior, however, in a tone of high moral indignation, is given by Robert Adam in his study of the behavior of "parliamentary socialists" who play the role of appearing militant to their proletarian followers but in reality are the agents of the bourgeois rulers.<sup>71</sup> The other side of this game, also stressed by Myrdal, is the tendency of rulers to be cowardly or fearful of the consequences of a policy of "social peace" whereby they make no demands on the proletarian demands to seduce workers into abandoning their revolutionary aims.

The recent situation of the stalled revolution of nonwhites in South Africa seems to highlight this "social peace" stage of the struggle between whites and nonwhites. According to Adam's analysis, the political rulers of South Africa have abandoned their revolutionary positions. White supremacy ideologies are no longer the guiding force. If the *apartheid* system continues, it is based on a strategy of "separate development" for nonwhites, which is a form of subtle *racism*. As an indication of this mellowed official policy, white politicians can now "shake hands and organize conferences with African dignitaries."<sup>72</sup> Nonwhites, on their side, are seduced by the lure of separate development as re-

Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944).  
 Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (New York: Macmillan, 1914).  
 Robert Adam, *Modernizing Racism: Domination in South Africa's Political System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 72.

plans for self governing Bantustans for native  
er writers had accurately commented on the nigger  
ffered nonwhites for these separate developments  
idea of tribally based "black homelands" has an a  
y blacks to throw themselves enthusiastically into t  
e summer of 1975, there were eight such hom  
s of progress toward self-government; one—the  
homelands of the Xhosa people—had petitioned  
g.<sup>73</sup>

though some observers who have noted such acc  
ies in social movements have come to despair of t  
Sorel's analysis suggests another possibility: accom  
a temporary stage on the way to more profound  
predicts, with obvious relish, the day when the p  
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rs by a violent mass action that lays bare the ephem  
mmodative stage. At this point, rulers will underst  
ring with "social peace" and will go back to their a  
f exploiting the masses. Thus the movement for cha  
rd the ultimate revolution of an aroused mass agai  
rship. It is tempting, certainly, to apply the Sore  
opment and course of the Black Power moveme  
s. The urban street riots of 1962–1968 were certain  
y whites as evidence of "black ingratitude," a reso  
blacks were beginning to make significant gain  
s. The white backlash that supports, for example, th  
of George Wallace reflects the possibility of a great  
onflict between the races in the United States.<sup>75</sup> Th  
n American blacks defined the riots as in some m  
' contrasts sharply with the perceptions of white  
he riots as counterproductive of good race relations

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*h Africa Digest*, June 13, 1975, p. 1.

, *Reflections on Violence*

hour M. Lipset and Earl Raab, "The Wallace White Lash," *Trans*  
23–25

e Erskine, "The Polls, Demonstrations and Race Riots," *Pub*

## Conditions of Change

We have just examined conditions that might lead to a more moderate view of desired changes. Even if this tendency is circumvented, however, it is by no means certain that a movement will succeed in its more radical aims. Much depends on the capacity of dominant groups to maintain their power in the face of challenges to that dominance. Since dominant groups, by definition, possess the power in the current social order, it would be surprising if a lack of will to use that power would be a necessary condition for any fundamental change in the ethnic status quo. The question for us is not whether, but under what conditions do dominant groups lose their power. One possibility is that, over a long period of evolution, a social movement may come a dawning realization by dominant groups that there are inequities of social practice that must be removed. In the 1960s, J. B. Rose, borrowing a phrase from the late Adlai Stevenson, said that the country comes to be in a country a "liberal hour." "This is the time when men of all shades of opinion, from radical to conservative, agree on the necessity of a movement in policy on a social problem in a particular direction."<sup>77</sup> Rose felt that the liberal hour for the United States was from about 1966 to 1968, ending, perhaps, with the Vietnam War. The zenith of the liberal hour in the United States had already been reached in 1964, when Senator Everett Dirksen, known for his political liberality, gave his support to the Civil Rights Act, thereby indicating that, once an idea's time has come, no opposition is likely. The description of this liberal consensus as a moment in time is useful. In most social movements most of the time will have been spent in a state of less generous disposition of will on the part of dominant groups. We must ask, then, how dominant groups, even *against* their own interests, are forced to make radical concessions to the demands of subordinate groups.

A very useful idea in this regard is Lipsky's suggestion that a social movement will succeed to the extent that it is able to mobilize the support of *third parties* to the direct confrontation between dominant and subordinate groups.<sup>78</sup> As long as the civil rights movement in the United States was simply a struggle of southern blacks

er structure of the South, there was no question of  
ement. When non-Southerners like Senator Dirksen  
ivil rights legislation had come, it was surely be  
cized nonviolent sit-ins and Freedom Rides of south  
y a number of concerned northern and southern v  
onsciousness and the conscience of Americans c  
arly, perhaps the only real hope nonwhite South A  
that their protests against *apartheid* would be st  
bility of attracting sympathetic support from othe  
a, of having sanctions imposed against South Afr  
ons, or of persuading one of the major world po  
tly on behalf of their protests. The failure, as descri  
of these third party supports to materialize helps ex  
e other reasons discussed above, the recently st  
white protest in South Africa.<sup>79</sup>

the key, then, to a successful ethnic movement, is th  
ement to capture the attention and the sympathy o  
ement leaders require a *dramatic* flair for those act  
able publicity to their cause. Some of the recent a  
of the American Indian movement are notable in  
n protest activity has made good copy for news rep  
e island of Alcatraz, the land claims suits demandi  
onfiscated Indian lands, the "fish-ins" along the Pa  
e personalized protest actions of Mad Bear Ander  
to assess the impact of these actions on general p  
n demands. American Indians have certainly mad  
e. Whether they cast the Indian in the public mind  
e long-sufferer or in the *fool's* role of a perpetrator  
question.<sup>81</sup>

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n Legum, "Color and Power in the South African Situation,"  
483-495

a detailed description of the activities of Mad Bear Anderson, se  
ndian," in Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert  
*icans Today* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 490-498  
ion of Indian protest activities, especially the "fish-ins," see  
ence of Activism as a Social Movement," in Bahr, Chadwick, and  
*Today*, pp. 506-532.

distinction between the hero and fool types in public images is  
H. V. *ans and Fools The Changing Ame can Charac*  
not co. Ha. 862

posing such alleged injustices to wider audiences  
place markedly greater pressure on dominant groups  
forces. In the case of South Africa, it has been shown  
of *apartheid* by most of the rest of the world has  
on the faith of whites in the rightness of their practice  
a government has successfully assured its own  
its "adverse criticism springs from sheer ignorance  
others cannot have so intimate a knowledge of the no  
have spent their lives among them. The only exper  
ons are white South African adults."<sup>82</sup> Similarly  
icans have claimed that northern criticism is based  
with the black. Many southern whites undoubtedly  
nor" of the practice of White Citizens Councils of sp  
arse freedom rides" in which indigent blacks or th  
ds were given "free rides" to northern cities. Cou  
d that "we want to see if northern politicians really  
whether they love his vote."<sup>83</sup>

Whether or not third parties are appealed to, it would  
the success of a movement depends on some ability  
on the consciences of the power holders. Except for  
the liberal hour, this may be a very difficult thing  
hi's successful use of *Satyagraha*—conversion th  
based on just such a conversion of the powerful  
science upon witnessing the extreme suffering of Gan  
f of his cause. Martin Luther King—and through  
ress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.)—adapted the C  
considerable success.<sup>84</sup> As Kuper points out, the  
y failed when attempted in the South African defia  
Demonstrators were not prepared for their minor  
*apartheid* laws to be met with such an intense offici  
als saw these small offenses as symbolic of an int  
fy all established "law and order," and reacted ac

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er, *Passive Resistance in South Africa*, p. 167.

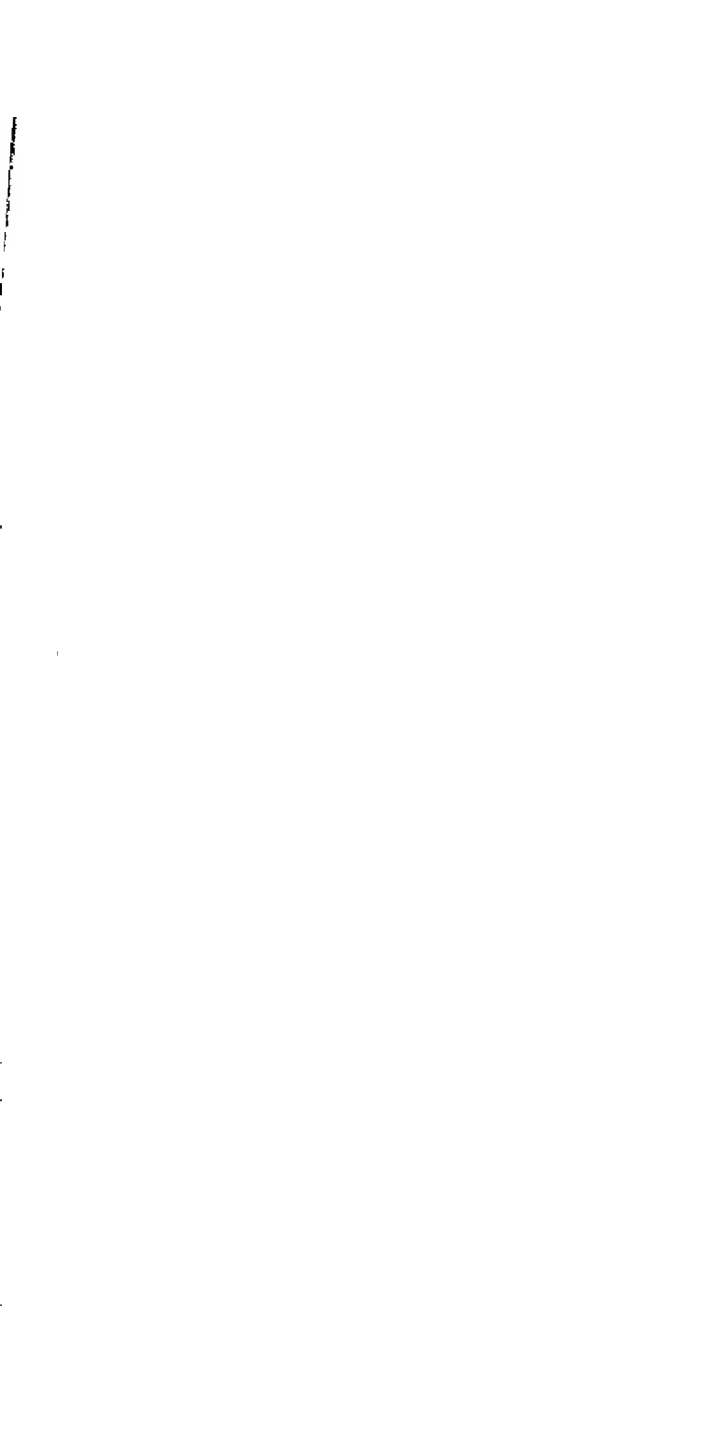
R. McMillen, *The Citizens Council: Organized Resistance to the*  
1954-64 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 231.

Powell Bell, *CORE and the Strategy of Nonviolence* (New York



notes, The resisters were told that all they needed to do was to go to imprisonment for a period of three to six weeks; that it was only for a limited amount of suffering, and not for confrontation with death if necessary, as Mahatma Gandhi required from his followers.

We might come finally to the reluctant conclusion that nonviolent movements depend for their ultimate success on either the moral authority of conscience in high places, such as Adlai Stevenson; or the leadership of charismatic individuals, such as Gandhi or Martin Luther King, who are prepared to undertake a "suffering to death." Given the current conditions, it is understandable that all the sound and fury of nonviolent movements so frequently terminate in less than spectacular results.



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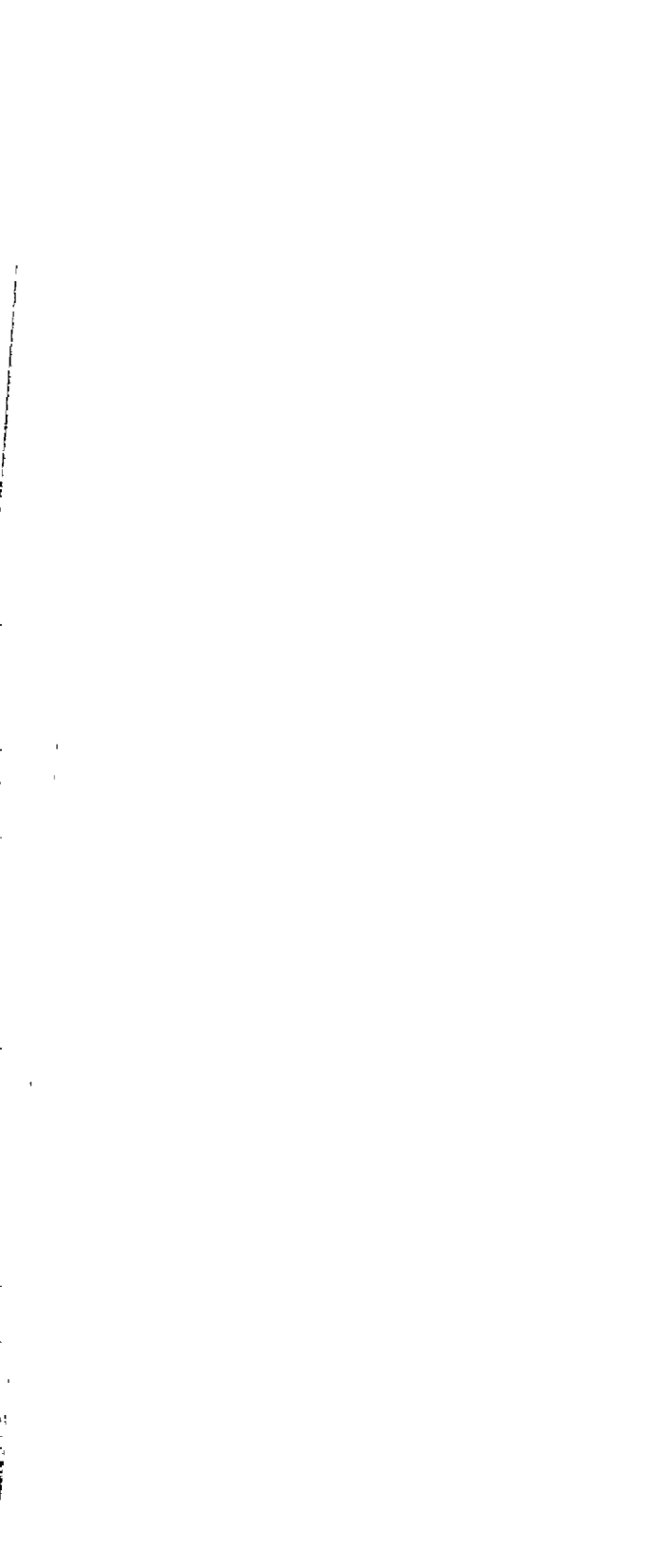
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